National Anti-Slavery Standard.

S. H. GAY, OLIVER JOHNSON, } ..... Editors.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Editor.

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THE STANDARD.

SIXTEENTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society convened in its Sixteenth Annual Meeting, in Odd Fellows' Hall, in Norristown, Tenth mo. 24th, 1853. A severe storm, which commenced during the previous night, and made travelling exceedingly uncomfortable, prevented the attendance of many whose presence had been expected, so that the audience was less numerous than usual; but this circumstance did not appear to discourage the faithful and tried friends of the cause who were so fortunate as to be present.

James Mott, President of the Society, called the meeting to order at 11 o'clock, A. M.

The Recording Secretary of the Society being absent, Abby Kimber and Oliver Johnson, on motion of J. M. McKim, were appointed Secretaries *pro tem.*

J. M. McKim, the Corresponding Secretary, offered some remarks explanatory of the causes which had made the meeting, at its commencement, so much smaller than usual. The principal cause, no doubt, was the inclemency of the weather. In former years the Society had been able to announce before hand the probability at least of the attendance of one or more distinguished speakers from abroad. This year, owing to peculiar circumstances, it had not been practicable to obtain such help. Perhaps, too, in consequence of the absence of the Corresponding Secretary and other officers of the Society, less effort than usual had been made to secure a general attendance. Mr. McKim alluded very feelingly to the absence of Mary Grew and C. M. Burleigh, who were prevented from meeting with us on account of illness. But, notwithstanding these apparently untoward circumstances, he felt no discouragement, and no apprehension but that the meeting would prove an interesting and profitable one.

The following Committees were then appointed.

Business Committee.—W. H. Johnson, J. M. McKim, Sarah Pugh, Lucretia Mott, E. F. Pennypacker.

Committee to Nominate Officers.—Jacob L. Paxson, B. C. Bacon, Isaac Roberts, Thomas Hambleton, Rebecca S. Hart.

After some consideration of the subject, it was agreed that the Society would adjourn *sine die* at 4 1-2 P. M. to-morrow, and that a meeting be held this evening.

At 12 o'clock the meeting adjourned till 1 1-2 P. M.

First day—Afternoon Session.—The Society convened at the appointed time. The President, on taking the chair, spoke of the pleasure he felt in meeting once more the true and tried friends of the cause with whom he had so long laboured, and in the evidences he saw around him that Abolitionists loved one another.

It was said of the early Christians, "Behold how they love one another," and he thought the exclamation hardly less applicable to the friends of the slave at this day. He hoped that, in thus loving each other, we should never forget that the slaves have a claim upon our sympathies and affections which we cannot innocently disregard.

W. H. Johnson, from the Business Committee, presented resolutions which were accepted and laid upon the table.

Oliver Johnson said it was hardly to be expected that we should rise wholly above the circumstances which, at first view, might seem discouraging. There was an enthusiasm peculiar to large assemblies; it was always pleasant and exhilerating to see our meetings thronged with eager and interested listeners, and not less so to be favoured with the presence of some of those champions of liberty whose eloquence never fails to enlighten our understandings and move our hearts. But if the storm has made the meeting smaller than usual, and you have no distinguished aid from abroad, you may perchance find compensation in that deeper sense of personal responsibility, and the more conscious reliance upon God, which such circumstances are so well calculated to promote. The meeting, however discouraging in some of its outward aspects, may by this means be more fruitful in all good influences than it would have been had those aspects corresponded entirely with our wishes and hopes.

Mr. Johnson then took a rapid survey of the past history and present condition of the Anti-Slavery cause, showing the great progress that had been made and the many encouragements to continued labour. The early Abolitionists had hoped for a speedy triumph of their principles, but they did not know the extent of the work which they had undertaken. They did not even dream that Slavery had utterly corrupted the politics and defiled the religion of the land. They thought the nation's republicanism was not wholly spurious, nor its religion an utter sham. They were simple enough to suppose that the Church was only under a mistake, that in a few years at most, after she had taken a little time for reflection, she would lend her mighty influence to the cause, and that the work might easily be accomplished. But how were they mistaken? Every step of their progress revealed a still "lower deep" in the corruption which Slavery had produced both in the Church and the State. They found it impossible to strike at Slavery without assailing the popular religion and the popular republicanism of the country. The contest had been severe, but the Abolitionists were already substantially victorious. Anti-Slavery principles were rapidly working their way to the consciences and the hearts of the people. All the efforts of venal politicians and recreant priests to stop the agitation of the question had utterly failed, and the cause was advancing more rapidly than ever. One of the great political parties of the country, after endorsing the compromises, had been utterly overthrown, and the other was weakened by internal dissensions and a base scramble for the "spoils." The Free Democracy was gaining in numbers and in moral strength. The great work before us was as plain as it was important and comprehensive. It was our office to keep burning the fires of moral agitation—to propagate the truth fearlessly through the press and by the living speaker. He scarcely hoped to live long enough to witness the final triumph of the cause, but it would be a consolation to him in his dying hour to reflect that he had done something, or at least *tried* to do something, to make the work easier to those who should come after him.

James M. McKim (in allusion to the remark of the previous speaker, that he did not expect to live to witness the abolition of Slavery) said the times and seasons are known only to God, and it was hardly proper for us to assume the office of the prophet; but for his own part, he thought the day of final triumph nearer than his friend Johnson supposed.

Mr. McKim proceeded to state the circumstances which had prevented the preparation of the usual Report of the Executive Committee. These were, chiefly, the absence, during the last six months, of the Corresponding Secretary, upon whom the duty of writing the Report had usually devolved, and the recent illness or absence of other members of the Committee. The Report of the next year, however, could be made to cover the whole ground, so that the history of the Society's operations would not be interrupted. As a substitute, in some degree, for a written Report, he proposed that friends of the cause from different localities should, so far as time would allow, make verbal statements as to its condition and prospects in their respective neighbourhoods. For himself, he could speak from actual observation only of what had occurred during the first six months succeeding the last Anniversary, but he saw much to encourage the friends of the cause. He saw reason for rejoicing in the fact that, during the last year, a daily paper (the *Register*, conducted by Wm. Birney) had been established in Philadelphia, worthy, in some degree, of the advancing spirit of the age—a paper which, though not in our sense an Abolition journal, yet dares to discuss the question of Slavery in a manly way, and to testify against the spirit of compromise by means of which the people of the North are beguiled into its support. Hereafter when citizens of Pennsylvania are kidnapped or murdered to appease the gaunt monster that rules the nation, or when the diabolical statute for the rendition of slaves to bondage is executed, in all its dread atrocity, in our midst, we shall have the consolation of knowing that at least *one* daily press in the city of Brotherly Love will dare to speak of such outrages in language befitting the lips of a freeman. He was heartily glad to learn that that press was now fully established, and that its patronage and influence were constantly increasing. He saw cause for encouragement also in the increased number of fugitives from Slavery. They came not only from the borders of the slave States, but from the far South, passing through incredible hardships and perils in pursuit of freedom. Within the last few days, cases of a deeply interesting and exciting character had fallen under his own observation. Increasing numbers of the slave population are acquiring information respecting the efforts that are being made to set them free, and they are encouraged thereby to attempt to escape from their chains.

Mr. McKim alluded to the financial condition of the Society, and called for the reading of the Treasurer's Report. It was read and accepted, as follows:

Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society. Treasurer's Report for the year ending 10th mo. 1st, 1853.

RECEIPTS.

Philadelphia Female A. S. Society	$1,200 00
Individual donations and pledges	1,718 79
Publishing agent	3,612 88
Loans	225 00
Rent	131 25
	$6,887 92
Balance due Treasurer	77 58
	$6,965 50

PAYMENTS.

Balance due Treasurer 10 mo. 1st, 1852	$133 72
Anti-Slavery Standard	183 33
Pennsylvania Freeman	3,820 00
Carriers	159 40
Salaries to agents, &c.	1,770 24
Loans	150 00
Rent of office	252 50
Sundries: including books for office, job printing, paper, post office stamps, postage, rent of hall, advertising, coal, and all other office expenses	496 31
	$6,965 50

ABBY KIMBER,
for SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Philadelphia, 10th mo. 1st, 1853.

Mr. McKim called attention to the fact that the Society was in debt to the amount of $2,250, and said that some provision must be made for raising this amount.

James Mott gave some account of a visit which his wife and himself had recently made to Washington County, N. Y., where they found some faithful and earnest friends of the cause, who were doing much for its promotion in that region. He related some very encouraging facts, showing the fruits of constant and persevering labour on the part of a few devoted advocates of liberty.

Thomas Hambleton alluded to meetings which had been held of late by a committee appointed by the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society, in Chester County, and which he thought had been productive of good to the cause. He then proceeded to speak of the hollowness of the popular Patriotism, Philanthropy and Christianity of our country, and to contrast it with the benign precepts and example of Jesus, by which we were taught the duty of loving our neighbours as ourselves, and of breaking the chains of the oppressed.

James Mott said he had recently seen two coloured friends who were returning from a visit to the scenes of the state of things among the refugees from American Slavery. Many of them were acquiring property, the cause of education was prosperous, and the moral condition of the mass was improving.

Lucretia Mott hoped that no one would infer from what the last speaker had said, that he desired the coloured people of the United States to colonize themselves in Canada or elsewhere. It was the desire of Abolitionists that they should remain here and aid in the work of abolishing Slavery, and the spirit of caste, and in regaining the rights of which they had been so long deprived.

Mrs. Mott then referred to her recent visit to Washington County, N. Y., where she saw fruits of the faithful labours of Abby and Stephen Foster, in disturbing the false and unnatural quiet of popular Quakerism, and in bringing people of various theological views to labour harmoniously together in behalf of the slave. She alluded also to her visit at Cleveland, Salem (Ohio), and Cincinnati, where she saw many evidences that the cause was making progress. She also gave a deeply interesting account of two meetings which she had held within the last few days at Maysville, Kentucky, to which place she had been invited by Col. Stevenson, an eminent and influential citizen, who had assured her of a hearty Kentucky welcome, and promised her an opportunity to speak as freely as she chose on the subject of Slavery. She did speak on Sunday in the Court House, and to a very crowded audience. In no place had she ever spoken more freely of the effects of Slavery, not only upon the slaves, but upon the masters, nor denounced the system for its inherent wickedness and inhumanity with less reserve. The crowded assembly had listened not only with patience, but with interest, and at the close of the meeting many came around her to express their sympathy, and to entreat her to speak again in the evening, to which she consented. She related some interesting incidents which occurred in her intercourse with the people whom she met in private, and stated that so favourable was the impression made by her visit, that the people expressed a desire to see and hear Lucy Stone, and she thought it quite probable that that eloquent advocate of the slave had by this time been invited to speak there.

Oliver Johnson made some interesting statements respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society and the cheering prospects of the cause in the city of New York. The new Anti-Slavery Society recently formed there was doing a good work, and a Course of Anti-Slavery Lectures had been arranged under its auspices for the present Autumn and ensuing Winter, in which various distinguished persons would co-operate. Mr. Johnson closed his remarks by referring to the religious origin and character of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and expressed the hope that Abolitionists, while they avoided all cant, would ever show a sincere veneration for pure Christianity, and a genuine faith in God, as the source of their strength and the foundation of their hopes.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society met at 7 o'clock, the audience having largely increased since morning. B. C. Bacon, one of the Vice Presidents, was in the chair.

Thomas Whitson addressed the meeting very impressively for upwards of an hour. God, he remarked, helps those who help themselves. We help ourselves by obeying his laws of justice and truth. The religious bodies of our land complain of the low state of religion among themselves, and talk a great deal about praying to God to help them; but having refused to help themselves by obeying his laws, they are out of harmony with God, so that he cannot help them. God can do nothing incompatible with his own nature. He cannot give them the fruits of righteousness while they are living in sin. As it is impossible for God to lie, so is it impossible for him to help men support Slavery, which is "the sum of all villanies." The popular religionists of this country are supporting a system which tramples upon every attribute of God, and he can afford them no aid without being false to his own character. If they would have his help, they must "cease to do evil and learn to do well." The religious bodies of our country are very earnest in their denunciations of the Jews. They dwell upon the sin of Judas of old, but spare the Judases of the present age. The ancient Judas betrayed Christ for money, and the religionists of this day betray him in the person of the slaves for considerations equally base. Jesus, in the estimation of the people of his day, was not religious; but Judas was a religious, law-abiding man. He betrayed Jesus into the hands of the administrators of the law, just as the religionists of the present day betray the slaves into the hands of a commissioner or master, as the law prescribes. There is no use in asking God to help us while we are practising such wickedness. He will aid us to do right, but never to do wrong. We are a nation of Judases. We bring odium on the very name of Christian. To be a Christian is to be Christ-like, and to be Christ-like is to be the friend of the slave, and to labour for his emancipation.

Mr. Whitson went on to speak of the popular idea that the Government must be obeyed, whatever may be the character of its requirements. He maintained the supremacy of the Divine Law, and illustrated his views in a clear and impressive manner. He insisted that the law was as binding upon the Government as upon individuals—that acts which were wrong when done by an individual were not changed to virtues when done, or commanded to be done, by the Government. The laws of justice can no more be changed by a human legislature, than the laws of mathematics. He closed by a reference to the history of the Anti-Slavery movement, and its influence in breaking down the walls of sect and party, and uniting the good and the true of all sects and parties, upon the great principles of righteousness and philanthropy.

James Miller McKim said he had listened with deep interest and pleasure to the remarks of his friend Whitson. He was especially gratified with the truly religious tone and spirit of his address. The Anti-Slavery movement was the natural outgrowth of deep religious feeling and conviction on the part of those who organized it. He remembered a remark made in the early days of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, in the social circle, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, viz.: "If this cause is to succeed, it must be borne to its triumph on the shoulders of Christianity." That remark, so simple and yet so comprehensive, made, as it was in all the earnestness of religious conviction, so impressed the mind of one of the noblest men in our country, who happened to hear it, that it led to his conversion to the Anti-Slavery cause; and that man was now one of the most faithful and eloquent champions of our cause. Mr. McKim further illustrated the religious spirit of the enterprise by referring to the Convention which formed the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. He had never attended a meeting in which there were more visible tokens of the Divine presence. The prejudices of sect and party were forgotten in a common love of humanity and God. He went to the Convention a sectarian; he felt that his own stamp of religion was alone genuine; that those whom he regarded as heretical, though they might be amiable in the social circle, and strictly moral in their lives, "had not the root of the matter" in them. But when he witnessed the deep religious earnestness of many such, and the exhibition on their part of the very spirit of Christ, the scales fell from his eyes; the great doctrine of human Brotherhood was revealed to him with a clearness never experienced before. Under the influence of that godlike sentiment, heart flowed to heart; there was but one thought and one purpose. God's presence was as palpable as it would have been if he had revealed himself to our mortal vision. His love filled our hearts to overflowing, and in his strength we went forth to declare the great truths of human liberty; to call the nation to repentance for its great sin in making merchandise of God's image. Ebenezer Elliott said that a man who had once seen a truth could never afterwards be as if he had not seen it: and it might with equal truth be declared, that those who saw the sublime truths pertaining to our common humanity in the light which the spirit of that Convention threw around them, could never be as if they had not witnessed that Divine manifestation.

Mr. McKim alluded to his recent visit to Europe, and to his not being able fully to comprehend its hideous character; but when he looked at it from a foreign land, it stood out before him with terrible distinctness as a great blot upon his native country, for which he could offer no excuse or palliation. Often, while abroad, had he thought of his Anti-Slavery associates at home, and longed to be once more at their side. He found the Abolitionists on the other side of the Atlantic to be of the same spirit with their fellow-labourers in the United States. He felt himself *at home* with them, and found them seeing things, as it were, through the same eyes with himself. There, as here, Abolitionists loved justice for its own sake, and not merely for the slave. He had resolved, while there, to be more earnest in the Anti-Slavery cause than ever, and that not alone for the sake of the slave, but for the down-trodden masses of Europe, whose oppressors found an apology for their tyranny in the existence of American Slavery. Slavery in our country was a god-send to the despots of the Old World, and a source of deep lamentation to the sincere friends of liberty there. An Italian with whom he conversed, and who had watched with the deepest interest the movements of Kossuth in this country, hoping that he would be able to do something effectual for the cause of liberty in Europe, absolutely wept when he spoke of the great crime which made our example a curse instead of a blessing to those who were struggling against the despotisms of the Old World.

J. B. Taft, Agent of the N. Y. Central College at McGrawville, next addressed the meeting. He said that, notwithstanding the difficulties and trials which beset the path of the reformer, he was glad that he lived in this age of free thought and free inquiry. Dogmas and creeds had had their day; men were determined now to have realities instead of shadows. It was a day of Revolutions, and he felt it a privilege to live at such a period, and to take some humble part in the agitation of the great questions involving the highest interests of the human race.

Mr. Taft proceeded to speak of American Slavery and of the influences employed for its overthrow. He alluded to the position of the Free Democratic party, in respect to those provisions of the U. S. Constitution which are generally understood to sanction Slavery. This led to an interlocutory discussion, between himself and Oliver Johnson, as to what was the real position of the party alluded to, in the course of which Mr. Johnson defined the difference between the views of the Free Democracy and those of Gerrit Smith and the Liberty Party.

After a few remarks by Thomas Whitson, the meeting adjourned till the next morning at 9 o'ck.

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

At the appointed time the chair was taken by B. C. Bacon, one of the Vice Presidents. The audience was much larger than on the previous day, the weather being pleasant.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings being read, Lucretia Mott called attention to the Secretary's report of the remarks made by Oliver Johnson as to the connection between the Anti-Slavery cause and Christianity. She thought the language of the report liable to be misunderstood, and Mr. Johnson said it should be changed agreeably to her suggestion. An informal discussion then arose upon the general subject thus introduced by Mrs. Mott.—There was great apparent unanimity in the sentiment, that the Anti-Slavery Movement is, in the highest and purest sense of the word, a *Christian* enterprise; that Abolitionists while reprobating, in the strongest terms, the spurious Christianity which lends support to Slavery, should be careful to urge the claims of the cause upon truly Christian grounds; that they should cultivate a Christian spirit, and show by their conduct that they are the friends of that "pure and undefiled religion" which Jesus taught and exemplified. The charge of infidelity, so constantly brought against Abolitionists by the pro-slavery church and press, was alluded to, and the general conviction seemed to be that it was losing its power over the public mind; that the thinking men of all sects were beginning to see and acknowledge that the charge is unjust, and that Abolitionists, in labouring for the emancipation of the slave, in the face of a corrupt public sentiment, and by their fidelity to the great principles taught by Christ, were giving the very best evidence that they are Christians in deed and in truth. On the one hand it was urged that we ought to repel the charge of infidelity, and on the other that we should not spend much time in defending our reputations, but go forward in our appropriate work, with very little regard for what others might say about us. Those who took part in this discussion were Lucretia Mott, J. M. McKim, Oliver Johnson, Thomas Hambleton, E. M. Davis, and Chandler Darlington.

The Committee on the nomination of officers reported, and their report was unanimously adopted, as follows:

President.—JAMES MOTT.

Vice-Presidents.—Edward M. Davis, Benjamin C. Bacon.

Corresponding Secretary.—J. Miller McKim.

Recording Secretary.—Haworth Wetherald.

Treasurer.—Sarah Pugh.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee.—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Jacob Pierce, Margaret Jones, Cyrus M. Burleigh, Abby Kimber, Henry M. Laing.

The pecuniary wants of the Society coming up for consideration, the following persons were appointed to constitute a Finance Committee, viz.: Edward M. Davis, Alice Jackson, Isaac Roberts, Thomas Whitson, Simon Barnard.

While this committee were receiving donations and pledges, stirring addresses were made by Edward M. Davis, James Painter, Thomas Whitson, J. B. Taft, and others. The importance of liberal contributions at the present time was impressively urged by the various speakers.

James Miller McKim then gave a brief account of his visit to Europe.

He had been absent from the country nearly six months, having left on the 30th of April, and returned on the 14th of October. With the exception of about five weeks, his time had been spent in Great Britain and Ireland. He had not been sent on any official mission, but had gone at his own expense and chiefly for his own gratification; nevertheless he had devoted himself as assiduously to Anti-Slavery work while he was abroad as he was accustomed to do at home. This he had done not more from a sense of duty than as a matter of pleasure. He had visited the principal cities in England, Scotland and Ireland, and had held meetings, public or social, in most of them; he had had interviews with committees, and with private individuals, as to the best means of promoting the cause, and had availed himself of all suitable ways that offered to impart information, to correct misapprehension, to remove prejudice, and to do whatever else was in his power to bring about a better understanding and a more cordial co-operation between the friends of the cause in both countries in the great work of emancipation. He had reason to believe his efforts were not altogether unsuccessful. He had had many assurances from friends, in all the places he had visited, that his coming had been opportune, and his testimony acceptable and effective. At first he had been somewhat discouraged. He arrived in London during the week of the Anniversaries, and was present at the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was held in Exter Hall. It was a grand meeting in point of numbers and enthusiasm, and evinced a high degree of Anti-Slavery feeling on the part of the English people. but some circumstances connected with the meeting, and others having nothing to do with it, excited the fear that this feeling was under the control of men not duly qualified to turn it to the proper account, or to give it the right direction. In other words, it seemed at first sight as though the New Broad Street Committee were in fact, as well as in form, at the head of the Anti-Slavery enterprise in Great Britain, while, at the same time, it was evident that the members of this committee, however upright, and sincere, and religiously conscientious they might be, were nevertheless not men of sufficient comprehensiveness and liberality of spirit to be qualified for that position.

The meeting was the largest that had been held on [illegible] for many years: this fact, the presence of Mrs. Stowe, the acclaim and excellent authoress of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Nothing could exceed the admiration of the English people for his extraordinary book, unless it was that which was felt for its talented authoress; and the announcement that she was to be present at this meeting brought out the people in immense numbers and inspired the crowd with the liveliest enthusiasm. The speeches were good enough, rhetorically considered, but for the most part lacked point, and showed a want of Anti-Slavery information. The speakers were most of them ministers and seemed to have been selected for other reasons than that of their familiarity with the subject, or their capability of imparting information on the Anti-Slavery question. Lord Shaftsbury said a good thing when he denounced the pro-slavery churches of America as synagogues of Satan, but he travelled out of the record and took a liberty which was unwarrantable on an Anti-Slavery platform, when he compared the Roman Catholic church with American Slavery, and denounced it in equally strong terms.

[Our report of Mr. McKim's description of the Exeter Hall meeting is quite full, and we have no doubt that all of it would be read with interest; but as we are crowded for room, and as a pretty full account of that meeting has already appeared in the *Freeman*, we take the liberty of omitting it.]

Mr. McKim spoke respectfully of the New Broad Street Committee, and considered them as more liberally disposed toward the radical Abolitionists of this country than they had been in former times; at least he was willing to hope so. The advancing spirit of the age, the influence of Mrs. Stowe through her book and by her personal testimony while in England, the influence also of Mr. Chamerovzow, the new Secretary of the Society, an able, liberal-minded and generous-hearted man, to whom much of the Society's business must necessarily be entrusted, all these things, he thought, could not have failed to improve the tone of feeling in the Committee, if not to modify advantageously its action. He gave that Committee the credit of desiring to do what was right. They, like ourselves, hold that the Anti-Slavery enterprise is a moral, a religious one, and as such should be maintained and conducted; but they make the too common mistake of attaching very contracted notions to the idea of religion, and in carrying out their views, often, as a matter of necessity, run into mere sectarianism. An Anti-Slavery Society that is restricted and exclusive, either in the materials of which it is constructed, or the policy that governs it, cannot be very effective for its purpose; it cannot, in the nature of things, enjoy that confidence and co-operation of all good men and true Abolitionists which is necessary to give success to its measures. The number of Abolitionists in England—using that word in its strictest sense—was not large. The people of England were generally, perhaps universally opposed to Slavery, and ready, at all times when called upon, to denounce it, but it was only a small portion of them that took any active, intelligent interest in the efforts which are being made in this country to carry on the work. Of these, much the largest proportion—so far as an opportunity had been afforded of judging—sympathized in the policy, and co-operated to sustain the measures, of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Nevertheless, much prejudice still prevailed there against the leaders of this Society. Wherever Mr. McKim went he had to meet the charge of infidelity, applied especially to Mr. Garrison, and alleged as a reason for not co-operating with him in the work of Abolition. This charge of course he had denied in the most unqualified manner. He did this not only on his own authority and from his own knowledge of Mr. Garrison's spirit and life, but in the same of all good and true Abolitionists in the United States, whatever might be their religion, creed, or theological peculiarities. He had said there, whenever and wherever the subject came up, that, judging Mr. Garrison by the standard laid down in the Scriptures, viz., "By their fruits ye shall know them," there was no man living further removed from infidelity than he: and he had added, that to this testimony he was sure every member of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society at least—a Society embracing persons of every variety of creed—would cheerfully set his seal. There was reason to hope that this hue and cry of Infidelity had lost much of its power in England to excite prejudice and prevent co-operation in the proper measures for the overthrow of Slavery, and that a better feeling was prevailing there.

The influence, as has been said, of Mrs. Stowe and her books had been good in this respect. Then there were not a few good American Abolitionists constantly at work there. Wm. Wells Brown, an able and faithful friend of the cause, was constantly in the field as a lecturer, and wherever he went his testimony to the truth on this subject was strong and direct. The same might be said of the Rev. Edward Mathews, a minister of the Free Baptist persuasion, who has been labouring for some time in England as an Anti-Slavery lecturer as well as a missionary of his religious society. The influence of Mr. Mathews was spoken of by friends of the cause there, in terms of strong commendation. Prof. Allen, who was about to enter the field as a lecturer, would be another added to the corps of faithful labourers in the cause of universal and impartial freedom. His ability as a speaker, and the circumstances which have made him an exile from his own country, would be sure to secure him a hearing and to give efficacy to his efforts. Then there was Geo. Thompson, whose name should have been mentioned first, if the order of precedence had been determined by intellectual power, moral excellence, or disinterested and heroic devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause. Mr. Thompson is not now officially engaged in the Anti-Slavery cause, but so deeply is his heart interested in its success, and so strongly is he attached to its champions, that he is ready whenever called upon, in public or in private, to bear his testimony to its principles and to vindicate the character of those whose lives are set for its defence. Then there was Mrs. Follen, whose home in London was ever open to Anti-Slavery conferences, and who herself never missed an opportunity of speaking a good word and doing a good deed for the cause which in this country she had so much at heart. The same was true of Mrs. Chapman and her sisters in the city of Paris. The amount of genuine and effective Anti-Slavery work done by these zealous and devoted labourers it would be difficult to estimate.

Mr. McKim also spoke in strong terms of the good done by Miss Sarah Pugh during her residence of nearly two years in England. She had been the means of establishing one or two Anti-Slavery Societies, and, by her labours, in a variety of ways, had unostentatiously, but most effectively, aided in bringing about the better state of feeling that now prevails in England in regard to American Abolitionism. Of the disinterested zeal and devotion of our British coadjutors, Mr. McKim felt that he could not speak in too high terms. It would be invidious to mention names, but there were two that stood out so conspicuously—that were so well known to our friends on this side of the water—that he could not repress an allusion to them. He referred to J. B. Estlin, of Bristol, and Richard D. Webb, of Dublin. The amount of Anti-Slavery labour performed by these gentlemen it would be difficult to over-estimate. On them devolved principally the support of the British *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, that admirably conducted and most useful Anti-Slavery paper; the former bearing the chief expense, and the latter disinterestedly assuming the labours of editor. Others there were who were not a whit behind them in zeal and devotedness. It was a fact that ought to be noticed, that abroad, as well as in this country, the most active Abolitionists were, with few exceptions, to be found among the women. In Bristol, Leeds, Edinburgh, Belfast, the principal work was performed by ladies, and on them everywhere the cause seems to depend for its life and vigour.

Mr. McKim spoke of what was doing to aid the cause in this country, through the medium of the National Bazaar, and concluded by repeating his expressions of satisfaction with his visit abroad, as well as of his pleasure at being permitted to return and resume his part in the labours which are to be performed here at home.

At the conclusion of Mr. McKim's address, resolutions numbered 4 and 5 were presented, but their consideration was deferred till afternoon. Adjourned till 1 1-2 P. M.

The audience was considerably larger than in the forenoon.

Resolutions No. 4 and 5 were taken up and adopted unanimously and heartily.

Resolution No. 1 was next taken up and adopted. No. 2 was also adopted after a very brief discussion.

At this stage of the meeting, it was proposed, in view of the enlargement of the audience since yesterday, and the deep interest felt in the proceedings, to reconsider the vote to adjourn, *sine die*, at half past four o'clock this afternoon, and to meet again to-morrow. The proposition, after some discussion, was adopted.

Resolution No. 3, referring to the Wilkesbarre slave case, was then taken up. Remarks were offered by Chandler Darlington, M. B. Linton and B. Rush Plumly, and the language of the resolution, as first introduced, was slightly modified to meet some objections. B. Rush Plumly, in his remarks, alluded to the common law doctrine that "a man's house is his castle," sacred even from the invasion of the government, unless it shielded a criminal. He alluded to the case of William and Ellen Craft, in Boston, who availed themselves of this doctrine, and for a time bade defiance to their pursuers. Mr. P. also spoke earnestly and eloquently of the Wilkesbarre case, and of the disgraceful conduct of Judge Grier.

Rev. Samuel Aaron next addressed the meeting with an eloquence and power to which the Secretaries cannot pretend to do any sort of justice. The Wilkesbarre case, the indecent and despotic conduct and language of Judge Grier, the atrocious wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the encroachments of the slave power, were his theme. His appeals came warm and glowing from the heart, and they stirred the hearts of his hearers to their very depths. He alluded to the doctrine of the common law that a man's house is his castle, and thought it might perhaps offer a shield for the fugitive. He understood that doctrine to be an admitted principle of law. He related a story of a Baptist clergyman, a friend of his, who, when a resident of Albany, N. Y., took into his house a fugitive of fair complexion, the reputed daughter of Senator Pearce, of Maryland. The clergyman armed himself, and resolved to put a bullet through the head of the first man who should cross his threshold for the purpose of seizing her. The officer who was employed to arrest her was a member of the Baptist Church, and the minister determined to protect the girl at the expense of that man's life, if necessary. His determination was known to the officer and the claimant of the fugitive, and when they saw that blood must flow if they attempted to make the arrest, they desisted. Such would doubtless be the result if the same course were pursued in other cases.

Mr. Aaron dwelt at considerable length upon the facts of the Wilkesbarre case, describing the terrible struggle between the fugitive and his inhuman pursuers. He called attention especially to the sublime heroism of the hunted negro, who, while struggling, single-handed, with the official bloodhounds, did not even ask for help, but when his captors called for assistance only looked into the faces of the people in a manner which seemed to say, "*Will* you, can you help these monsters to overpower me and carry me back to the hell of Slavery!" His resolution not to be taken alive was referred to as a proof of his nobility, and a significant illustration of his dread of Slavery.

Mr. Aaron compared the efforts of Judge Grier, in this case, to overawe the State authorities and the opponents of the Fugitive Slave act, to the similar conduct of the infamous Jeffreys, the judicial tool of James II. The conduct of the two men upon the bench was very much of a piece. Judge Grier seemed bent upon serving the tyrannical Executive of the United States as Jeffreys was upon serving the infamous monarch who had elevated him to power. His conduct had been declared to be "an outrage" by the presiding Judge of Montgomery County, and Mr. Aaron believed that it was thus viewed by many other able judges and lawyers.

It seemed to him that the object of the South in passing the Fugitive Slave Law was not, as generally supposed, to secure the arrest of runaway slaves, but to humble the pride of the Northern people and make them feel that they are under the control of the Slave Power—to see how much they will bear and to what degree of degradation they will submit. He hoped that this touch of the tyrant's spear would awaken the latent manliness of the Free States, and that, as the despotism of James II. and the outrageous tyranny of Jeffreys led to the crowning triumph of the English Revolution, so would the base usurpation of the slave-holders and the insolence of their judicial tools arouse the North to a successful effort to throw off the chains by which she has so long been bound.

Henry Grew, while acknowledging the eloquence and power of Mr. Aaron's speech, and hoping that it would inspire in every one a firmer resolve to be true to the cause of freedom, felt himself called upon to dissent from his apparent endorsement of the spirit of violence.

Lucretia Mott also took exception to that part of Mr. Aaron's speech which seemed to imply, if not to express, approbation of violence and bloodshed, when resorted to for the protection of the fugitive. As an expression of her views on this point, she read an extract from the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, and counselled the friends of the cause to rely not upon carnal weapons, but upon the omnipotent power of truth and love. She also alluded to a remark made by B. R. Plumly, which she understood to imply approbation of violence.

Mr. Plumly explained, showing that he had been misunderstood in this particular.

Lewis Gause was in favour of resistance as a law of nature. He could see no difference, in principle, between physical resistance and the resistance of hard words. He thought the non-resistance doctrine had done a great deal of harm.

J. B. Taft spoke briefly on the same side.

The resolution was then laid upon the table to hear the report of the Finance Committee, from which it appeared that the sum thus far collected was about $240. The pledges amounted to $350. This was said to be insufficient to meet the wants of the Society.

Henry Grew introduced the following resolution, which was laid upon the table for the present:

Resolved, That the continued general apathy of Abolitionists respecting the purchase and use of slave products, acknowledged to be fruits of unrighteousness, oppression and robbery, is inconsistent with their avowed principles; and that their requisition of the Slaveholder to make great sacrifices for the cause of freedom and humanity demands that they should make the smaller sacrifice of labour and expense, in procuring the products of requited toil so far as is practicable.

The hall being engaged for a portion of the evening, it was voted to meet again at 8 1-2 P. M. Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

At the appointed hour, the meeting was called to order by James Mott. A large audience having listened, in the early part of the evening, to a lecture on Liberty and Despotism in Europe, by Dr. Solger, most of them remained to attend our meeting, while others came in, making the assembly very large.

The resolution in relation to the Wilkesbarre case being taken up, Thos. Whitson made an earnest and impressive speech, showing the utter incompatibility of Slavery with the law of God and the claims of humanity. He showed that the people of this country were crucifying Christ afresh in the persons of the slaves, and that the religion which sanctioned such wickedness was not of God, nor compatible with the happiness of man. The land and the church were full of infidelity—infidelity to the attributes of God and the claims of suffering humanity. There was a *genuine* religion—a religion of mercy and good fruits—and that was a religion that he loved.

Mr. Whitson also took exception to some remarks of Mr. Aaron, which he thought savoured of violence. He saw nobility in the resolve of the fugitive at Wilkesbarre to die rather than be a slave. He would have all the slaves make the same resolution. Let them refuse to labour until their freedom is acknowledged, and stand upon that refusal in the spirit of non-resistance, and the system of Slavery would be at an end. For himself, he could not take the life of another to save a man from being made a slave, but he could die himself rather than resist in resistance, and especially to Mr. Aaron, whose address had seemed to him calculated to stimulate the already too prevalent spirit of violence. He drew a distinction between physical force, which he thought might often be innocently employed to aid a fugitive slave, and physical *violence*, which was *intended* to injure the person or destroy the *life* of the kidnapper. He attempted to show that the right to life was as inalienable as the right to liberty, and that every consideration which made the latter sacred from human invasion was equally applicable to the former. To make a man a corpse was as sinful as to make him a slave. Mr. Aaron had spoken of "the *hell* of American Slavery." As his friend was a Baptist clergyman, it was fair to assume that he employed that figure in view of the meaning of the word hell, as employed by his sect. He must admit that if there was in the future world a hell for *anybody*, the unrepentant kidnapper was sure to go into it! How shocking was it, therefore, to hear his brother, a professed minister of the Prince of Peace, apparently approving of an act which would send an immortal soul into that place of eternal torment, when the only object was to save another person from being made a slave! Had we a right to do evil, and such an evil, that good might come?

Mr. Johnson proceeded to speak of the example of Jesus as affording us a true standard of action in such cases. How would it destroy our reverence for him if we should learn that, under any circumstances, he had resorted to violence, or attempted to shed the blood of his persecutors. Mr. J. also argued against violence upon the ground that it was not *adapted* to promote the cause of freedom, and closed by an earnest exhortation to Abolitionists to take their stand upon the principles of peace as inculcated by Jesus, and so sublimely illustrated in his life and death.

Adjourned till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THIRD DAY—CLOSING SESSION.

James Mott in the chair. A goodly number of friends of the cause were in attendance.

Eusebius Barnard, while admitting the necessity as well as the duty of liberal contributions to the cause, reminded the meeting that there were other important instrumentalities which should not be overlooked. The Society of Friends, he thought, had carried their opposition to the raising of money for philanthropic purposes to an absurd extreme; but the remark quoted yesterday by E. M. Davis, to the effect that, if money enough were contributed for the purpose, Slavery might be abolished in five years, he thought an equally absurd extreme on the other side. Abolitionists must work at home in their families and neighbourhoods, and in the education of their children. They ought not to depend so much upon the Executive Committee, but to cultivate a

Mrs. Mott alluded to some disparaging remarks respecting Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Foster, published in the *Olive Branch*, a paper issued at Norristown. Those remarks, she said, were entirely unjust and erroneous.

James Painter, after expressing his concurrence in the remarks of Eusebius Barnard, and saying a word in favour of the ballot-box, said he would double the subscription he made yesterday.

Eusebius Barnard said it was far from his intention, in the remarks he had made, to relieve the consciences of those who felt that they ought to make more liberal contributions. He fully admitted the importance of such contributions.

Mahlon B. Linton made some statements going to shew why there was a deficiency in the treasury at the present time.

Mr. McKim also made a few remarks on the same subject, and referred to the considerations which should induce liberal contributions.

The Finance Committee went through the audience to receive further donations and pledges, and further remarks were made by Mrs. Mott, James Painter, Simon Barnard, Oliver Johnson, and Elisabeth Pearson. The Committee reported that the whole amount of cash donations was $368 00, and the whole amount of pledges $639 00; making a total of $1007 00.

The third resolution was then taken up and adopted.

The resolution on Colonization was next considered. Simon Barnard gave an interesting account of the recent efforts of the Colonization Society in West Chester, of the sophistry and falsehood resorted to by the agents of the Society, &c. Among other things he said that at the great Colonization meeting in Horticultural Hall, the elders of the Quaker (Hicksite) Society, who had said so much about the inconsistency of Friends in joining Anti-Slavery Societies, "going into the mixture," &c. were found seated on the platform along with the "hireling ministers" and other dignitaries of the place.

Thos. Whitson spoke earnestly and strongly, presenting in a very clear light the unjust principles of the Colonization scheme.

John Jones also spoke briefly and pertinently to the same effect.

Rev. Samuel Aaron denounced the principles of the Colonization Society, and showed in a brief but exceedingly forcible argument, how they were at war with the great law of humanity and brotherhood.

The friends of Colonization were told that our platform was free to them, if they chose to reply, but no reply was offered, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 7. was then adopted.

The resolution offered yesterday, by Henry Grew, respecting the use and purchase of slave products, was taken up.

Oliver Johnson said, he did not believe in the soundness of the principle on which the resolution was based. The reason why Abolitionists neglected to act upon that principle, was not, as the resolution intimated, because they were unwilling to make the necessary sacrifice, but because the argument for abstinence did not convince their judgments, nor their consciences.

James Mott was in favour of a suitable resolution, but could not support the one now under consideration. He did not admit that Abolitionists required slaveholders to make "great sacrifices," when they asked them to emancipate their slaves. Emancipation would promote their pecuniary as well as their moral welfare.

Mrs. Mott was also opposed to this resolution, but in favour of abstinence. She did not agree with those who made this the all-in-all of the Anti-Slavery cause, and did little or nothing else for its promotion. Such a course was only paying tithes of mint, anise and cummin, while the weightier matters of Anti-Slavery duty were neglected. "This ought ye to have done, and not left the other undone." She read a passage from the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833, and said that she should be in favour of a resolution couched in such language; but as there was no time to amend the resolution under consideration, she thought the subject might lie over until the Decade meeting of the Parent Society, when she hoped it would receive attention.

Oliver Johnson said he must dissent from the intimation sometimes given in our meetings that the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833 was the "end of the law for righteousness" on this and other subjects. Mr. Garrison, since writing that Declaration, and after a more thorough investigation of the subject, had changed his mind. He did not now, any more than Abolitionists generally, believe it was a duty to abstain from the use of slave products. The Declaration was not an *authority*, in the sense in which that word was used by many in reference to the Bible, but only an embodiment of the opinions of its signers at the time when it was written.

Mrs. Mott, in explanation, said she did not quote the Declaration as authority, but only in confirmation of her own views. She thought friend Garrison's views had not changed so much as Oliver Johnson supposed.

Thos. Whitson could not agree with his friend Oliver Johnson on this question. His arguments had not convinced him that the views which he had long held were incorrect.

The resolution was then laid upon the table, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

OLIVER JOHNSON,
ABBY KIMBER, } Secretaries, *pro tem.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery enterprise is one of personal interest to every individual of this nation, inasmuch as the liberties of each, and the prosperity of all, are involved in it, and as Slavery is not a sectional but a national crime, it is a duty which all owe to themselves, their posterity and their country, to labour for its immediate overthrow.

2. Resolved, That the Statute popularly called the Fugitive Slave Law, is a bold and impious denial of the rights of Man and the authority of God: that it corrupts the Judiciary, depraves the Pulpit, and debauches the Conscience of this nation; and therefore, it is a sin on the part of any individual to attempt to enforce it, or to obey it, and our obligations of obedience to God and love to Man require us to protest against it by earnest words and brave deeds.

3. Resolved, That in the scenes of barbarous cruelty recently enacted in Wilkesbarre, and in the judicial proceedings consequent thereon, in which officers of the United States government trampled on the plainest principles of law and justice, offered gratuitous insults to orderly and peaceable citizens, and outraged the common sympathies of humanity; we see the natural results of the execution of this infamous statute, and the danger which it threatens to the liberties of every American citizen.

4. Resolved, That we gladly welcome to her home, and to the place which she has so long and so usefully occupied in our ranks, our beloved friend, Sarah Pugh, the Treasurer of this Society, and that, while we have felt the need of her counsels and her labours in carrying forward the operations of the Society, we rejoice in the conviction that, during an absence of nearly two years, she has rendered invaluable service to our cause in foreign lands.

5. Resolved, That we have heard with deep interest and satisfaction the account given by James Miller McKim, the able and faithful Corresponding Secretary of this Society, of his recent visit to Europe, and especially to Great Britain and Ireland; and that we tender him our hearty thanks for his disinterested labours to promote a better understanding between the Abolitionists of this country and those on the other side of the Atlantic, and to awaken among the latter a deeper as well as a more intelligent interest in the great struggle for the abolition of American Slavery.

6. Resolved, That we renew, with increased emphasis, the expression of our long felt abhorrence of the spirit and principles of the American Colonization Society—a Society which, for duplicity, misrepresentation, falsehood, and inherent wickedness, is unsurpassed by any or all of the numerous instrumentalities which are brought to the support of American Slavery; and that we regard it as the duty of Abolitionists, in their several localities, to wage an uncompromising war upon a Society whose principles and measures are repugnant alike to humanity and justice, and an outrage upon the rights of the coloured people of this country.

7. Resolved, That this Society rejoices in view of the announcement that the American Anti Slavery Society will celebrate the Second Decade Anniversary of its formation in the city of Philadelphia, on the 3d, 4th and 5th of December next; and that we hereby express the hope that the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania, as well as those of other States, will be largely represented on that occasion.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

CASTE IN PHILADELPHIA.

From the Philadelphia Register, Nov. 8.

CASE OF LIEUT. WATKINS.—The office of Aldermen Mitchell, yesterday afternoon, was quite thronged with persons who were either interested or spectators in the case of Lieut. Watkins, charged with committing an assault and battery on Robert Purvis, jr., on the 30th inst., at the Exhibition of the Franklin Institute.

For the better understanding of the case, it is necessary to state that the complainant is the son of Mr. Robert Purvis, of Byberry township, whose admixture of African blood has not prevented him from being one of the most successful farmers and respected citizens of the County. At all the State and County Agricultural Fairs the father is a competitor, and often a successful one, for the first prizes. He is a man of wealth and education. The son is of so fair a complexion that the most observant would never suppose his descent other than the purest Anglo-Saxon. He is engaged in mercantile business, and enjoys the respect and esteem of all who know him. One of the ladies who accompanied him, Miss Esmond, is the sister of the distinguished lecturer, Charles Esmond, and, though knowing in her complexion that she belongs to a despised race, has had the advantage of a liberal education in one of the best boarding schools in Boston. She is from Salem, Massachusetts, and is now here on a visit to Mr. Purvis's family.

The second lady, Miss Wood, is beautiful and young. Her complexion is as deliciously fair as that of one of our Chesnut street belles. She is reputed also to be the presumptive heiress of her father, one of the wealthiest men in Virginia. The one sad drawback on all this is that she is THAT FATHER'S SLAVE. She, too, is here residing with Mr. Purvis, having been sent on by her father and master. As in the reception of contributions, no difference has been made on account of colour, and no notice has been given of any exclusion from the hall on that score, Mr. Purvis did not hesitate to send his son and visitors, not dreaming of the public insult that awaited them.

The case was opened by swearing Robert Purvis, *Jr.* He testified that he visited the Franklin Institute with two ladies, and had been there about three-quarters of an hour, when an officer, Mr. Watkins, touched him upon the shoulder, and told him he had better go out quietly or he would be forced to put him out. This was done in an authoritative manner.

Miss Esmond testified that she had visited the Franklin Institute with Robert Purvis, and paid for their admission, and after being some time in the room of the Institute, Lieut. Watkins came up and tapped Purvis on the shoulder, and told him to go out, in a very insolent manner.

Miss Wood, from Virginia, testified to the same facts as those given by the former witness.

Mr. Purvis, *Sr.*, stated that he had not employed counsel in this stage of the proceedings, as he wished to rely upon the justice of the cause and the Alderman's knowledge of the law. He denounced the conduct of the officer as insolent and infamous. He said there was no attempt at intrusion, for they did not suppose for a moment that any objections would be made to their admission, as there was on exhibition a number of articles deposited by coloured people.

Mr. Johnson, counsel for Lieut. Watkins, contended that there was no cause of complaint against the officer, except his tone of voice and manner in which the parties had been requested to leave the exhibition, and he was not, therefore, amenable to the law on the charge of committing an assault and battery on the person of Purvis.

The Alderman stated that the charge before him was an assault and battery upon Robt. Purvis, and two ladies, and this was the only question for him to settle. Lieut. Watkins was held in $500 bail, in his own recognisance, to appear on Thursday morning, at 10 o'clock, when a decision will be given.

From the same, Nov. 3d.

THE CASE OF LIEUT. WATKINS.—Yesterday morning young Purvis and Lieutenant Watkins, and his attorney, Mr. Johnson, were present at Alderman Mitchell's office, to hear his decision upon the charge made by Robert Purvis, Jr., against Lieutenant Watkins. The Alderman, after reviewing the testimony of the witnesses, in reference to the matter in which they had been accosted by Lieutenant Watkins, at the Franklin Institute Exhibition, decided that no technical assault and battery had been committed, and therefore Lieutenant Watkins must be discharged.

In our last notice of this case, it seems we fell into an error in regard to Miss Wood, one of the complainants, confounding her case with another and very interesting one. Miss W., we are assured, is now a resident of New England.

It is possible that no technical assault and battery was committed, and that the only redress of the parties would be a civil action for damages. Assuredly, it is no common wrong to be turned out of an exhibition, in the presence of hundreds of persons. The popular prejudice of Northerners against the coloured race excludes them from concerts, theatres and public assemblies, but Mr. Watkins's demonstration is the first symptom of a wish to exclude them from agricultural and similar exhibitions. Those who have visited the Crystal Palace know that there is no qualification of colour at the door; a twenty-five cent piece, on Saturdays, and double that price on other days, makes the gates of that Crystal Eden swing open to everybody. In the neighbouring county of Bucks, and in our own county, coloured men are members of the Agricultural and Poultry Societies, and bear off the prizes not unfrequently. If Mr. Watkins is not rebuked in the beginning of his crusade, we shall have some petty constable refusing, to all of African descent, the privilege of going to market or of walking the streets. Such persecution is wrong; we are sure it is unchristian. It has been prompted by the late high sanction given to ferocity against negroes. After the judge, we have the constables; after Grier, the Grier-illas.

MICHIGAN STATE CONVENTION.

THE Michigan Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in Odd Fellows' Hall, Adrian, on Saturday, Oct. 22d, 10 o'clock, A. M., in pursuance of a call previously issued.

The meeting being called to order by Jacob Walton, Thomas Chandler was chosen President, and Joseph Merrit, Cyrus Fuller, Nathan Stephens, Samuel D. Moore, Sophia Volland and Cynthia Walton were chosen Vice Presidents.

Business Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Marius R. Robinson, Stephen S. Foster, Jacob Walton, Ephraim Rulon, Jane Chandler and Woodland Owen.

Finance Committee.—Sallie Holley, Richard Glazier, Samuel D. Moore, Ann Hayball and Emeline DeGarmo.

Secretaries—Caroline F. Putnam, and Samuel Hayball.

In behalf of the Business Committee, William Lloyd Garrison presented resolutions 1st and 6th, inclusive, which were accepted by the meeting for discussion.

On motion of S. S. Foster, all persons present, friends of the slave, are requested to take part in the proceedings of the meeting.

M. R. Robinson commenced the discussion, by some remarks relative to free and fearless discussion. Free thought and free speech were the instrumentalities which could overthrow Slavery. The slaveholders know this, and hence they make an issue with Abolitionists on this question. They made it at the outset, and they continue it still.

Elder Trip took exceptions to some of Mr. Robinson's remarks in regard to the church. He should make exceptions—nothing was gained by misrepresentation. Quite a discussion here sprang up in regard to the true position of the church on this question and embracing the question whether Slavery was under all circumstances sinful, in which William Lloyd Garrison, S. S. and A. K. Foster and Elder Trip participated.

Adjourned to meet at half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Moved by Jacob Walton, that a Committee of five be appointed to nominate a State Central Committee, upon which S. S. Foster suggested the propriety of establishing a State Anti-Slavery Society; upon which Jacob Walton withdrew his motion.

On motion, Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of forming a State Anti-Slavery Society, said Committee to consist of M. R. Robinson, Samuel Hayball, Jacob Walton, Stephen S. Foster, and C. Fuller.

This resolution led to a general discussion of the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its auxiliaries. Rev. Messrs. Trip and Wellman thought these in some respects wrong and proscriptive. Mr. Garrison and Mr. and Mrs. Foster elucidated the principles and vindicated the measures of the Society.

On motion, adjourned till 7 o'clock this evening.

EVENING SESSION.

Mr. Garrison presented, in behalf of the Business Committee, Resolution No. 7, and followed it by an able speech.

Mrs. Laura Haviland presented Resolution No. 8, and addressed the Convention in a very interesting manner. Mr. Foster followed with some remarks, criticising severely the profligate course of a large portion of the press of the country, and specified the *Watch Tower*, one of the papers of Adrian. Mr. Olmsby, the Editor, replied, and the discussion continued till a late hour.

On motion, adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

MORNING SESSION—OCT. 23D.

Resolved, That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet at 2 o'clock P. M., for business—and at 3 for public speaking.

Mr. Garrison occupied the morning session in presenting the position of the American Church in respect to Slavery.

The Finance Committee proceeded to take donations and pledges, to carry forward the work during the coming year. To this call the people very promptly responded, the pledges and contributions amounting to near $400.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Corresponding Secretary of the State Central Committee, Jacob Walton, read a report of the doings of the Committee for the past year.*

The Treasurer's Report was then read as follows:

Treasurer of the Michigan State Central Committee, in account with Committee.

1852. Oct. 17.		Dr.
To cash by public collection	$37 66	
" " per Finance Committee	106 00	$133 66
		Cr.
By cash for Hall and Lighting	17 45	
" " Printing Bills	8 00	
" " to Agents of W. A. S. S.	90 00	
" " for Secretary	50	
" " Cash Book	1	
		$116 17
Balance in Treasury		$17 49

RICHARD ILLEDEN, Treasurer.

* We are exceedingly sorry to say that this report of the Committee has by some means got mislaid, and we are unable to present it to our readers. If it shall be found, as we hope it may, we will publish it hereafter.

M. R. Robinson, from the Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of forming a State Society, reported as follows:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the friends of the Anti-Slavery interest in Michigan, as speedily as may be consistent with other religious obligations, to form themselves, or unite with the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. Bowman, from Defiance Co. O., approved of the measure, and thought it desirable that the north-western part of Ohio, lying adjacent to Michigan, should be included within the field of its operations. After a full discussion of the question, in which the principles and measures of an Anti-Slavery organization were thoroughly examined, the resolution was adopted.

Messrs. Garrison, Foster, Robinson, Peters, Volland, and others, were the speakers.

On motion, M. R. Robinson, A. P. Bronson, and John DeGarmo, were appointed a Committee to prepare and present a Constitution of a Society to the next session of the convention.

On motion, also, Woodland Owen, Sarah Eggleston, Cyrus Fuller, Ann Hayhall, and Richard Glazier, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers.

Adjourned to meet at half past six o'clock, P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

M. R. Robinson, from the Committee on the Constitution, presented the following, which was, on motion, adopted.

CONSTITUTION.

Preamble, Believing that Slavery is a sin against God, and a wrong against man, under whatever circumstances it may exist; that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave, and the duty of the master; and believing moreover that the abolition of the system demands the combined efforts of the friends of Humanity and Freedom, without regard to sect, party or sex, we agree to form a Society to be regulated according to the following articles, viz:

Article 1. The Society shall be known as the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Article 2. The object of this Society shall be to co-operate with the American Anti-Slavery Society in the diffusion of light and truth on the subject of Slavery, by means of Anti-Slavery lectures, tracts, pamphlets and newspapers, and by such other instrumentalities as the exigencies of the cause may from time to time require.

Article 3. Any person who consents to the principles set forth in the preamble, may become a member of this Society.

Article 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, and five Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, consisting of these and five other members—to be chosen annually by the Society. These officers shall perform the duties usually incident to their respective positions. Vacancies occurring in any of the offices, may be filled by the Executive Committee.

Article 5. It shall be duty of the Executive Committee to conduct the business of the Society during the intervals of its meeting, and to collect and disburse its funds. Five of their number shall constitute a quorum. They shall keep a record of all their proceedings, and make a report of the same at the annual meeting of the Society.

Article 6. The annual meeting shall be held at such time and place as the Executive Committee may appoint, when the officers of the Society for the ensuing year shall be chosen.

Article 7. This constitution may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members in attendance at any annual meeting—provided notice of intention to move such change shall have been given in writing to the Executive Committee, at least one month previous to such meeting.

Mr. Garrison offered Resolutions 10, 11, 12 and 13, which, on motion, were received for discussion. Wm. L. Garrison then addressed the Convention, and was followed by an address by M. R. Robinson, after which the whole series of resolutions were adopted in mass.

The Committee on nominations reported, by Dr. Owen,

For President—SAMUEL HAYBALL, Adrian.

Vice Presidents—Emeline DeGarmo, Ypsilanti; Harriet Fuller, Plymouth; Jacob Walton, Raisin; A. P. Bowman, Farmer, Defiance Co. O.; Warren Gilbert, Rome.

Executive Committee—Samuel D. Moore, Ypsilanti; Mary Rulen Illeden, Sarah Eggleston, Edwin Comstock, William Ward, Adrian.

Treasurer—Richard Illenden, Adrian.

Corresponding Secretary—Thos. Chandler, Adrian.

Recording Secretary—Ann Hayball, Adrian.

On motion, adjourned, *sine die*.

THOMAS CHANDLER, *President.*
SAMUEL HAYBALL, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That between the radical Abolitionist of the North and the slaveholders of the South there is no middle ground, any more than between the worshippers of one living and true God and those of idols; therefore, all such as pretend to be opposed to Slavery, and at the same time discountenance the Anti-Slavery movement, are either cherishing a fatal delusion, or else are guilty of gross hypocrisy.

2. Resolved, That Abolitionism, however maligned by a time-serving pulpit or corrupted by a profligate press, is nothing more than an earnest demand for the practical enforcement of the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, without regard to complexional differences among the people—claiming for those who are held in an iron bondage, only what the inhabitants of this country assume to be theirs by a natural and Heaven derived right.

3. Resolved, That as it is a self-evident truth, "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty," it follows as a truth equally self-evident, that whatever book, parchment, code, statute or creed, sanctions or upholds Slavery under any circumstances ought to be given to the consuming fire; and that whatever sect, party, or government, recognizes the right of man to hold property in man, is thoroughly corrupt, and fit only to be trodden in the dust.

4. Resolved, That he who apologizes for slaveholding, is in heart a slaveholder and needs only a Southern location to become the purchaser and plunderer of his doomed fellow creatures, to the extent of his means and opportunities.

5. Resolved, That the people of Michigan, without distinction of sect or party, by making it a fundamental law of their State, that no resident therein shall hold another person in Slavery on its soil, have unanimously delared it to be morally impossible for slaves to be innocently held as such in any other State in the Union; hence, whenever any of them attempt to defend the practice of man-enslaving at the South, or refuse to rally under the banner of immediate emancipation, so that liberty may be "proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," they are guilty of perfidy to the Constitution of Michigan, and stand condemned out of their own mouths as destitute of moral principle.

6. Resolved, That it is the insanity of Bedlam to talk of a "glorious union" subsisting between those who abhor Slavery as the worst of crimes, and those who vindicate it as worthy of unlimited extension and perpetuity; between those who believe that a man was made to glorify God in his body and spirit, and those who maintain that he was made for the auction block, and to be owned by another as his chattel; between those who regard Christianity as diametrically opposed to every kind of oppression, and those who insist that it is compatible with "the traffic in slaves and the souls of men;" between those who say that government should make slaveholding a penitentiary offence, and those who say that government is bound to protect slave property; "for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?"

7. Resolved, That the strength of the Slave Power is not to be found in its own nature (for as it is the wickedest, so, in itself, it is the weakest Power beneath the sun), or in the number of actual slaveholders at the South, or in Southern combinations; but it exists in Northern cowardice, servility, conservatism—in Northern religious fellowship and co-operation—in Northern party alliance and subserviency—in the Northern pulpit denouncing the characters of the uncompromising friends of the slaves, and the Northern press holding them up to public ridicule and scorn—in hatred and contempt of the free people of colour and in a general lack of manhood, moral principle, and regard for liberty.

8. Resolved, That we meet here upon the Anti-Slavery platform of broad and universal freedom, and as such we know no sect or party. But cordially greet every friend of the slave, however widely we may differ in our religious views.

Whereas, in the course of the discussion which sprung up in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (New School) lately convened at Buffalo, N. Y., the Rev. Mr. McLane, of Mississippi, said: "If you ask how many of our church members are slaveholders, I answer, all who are able to be; and if you ask how many slaves they own, I answer, just as many as their means will permit"—and

Whereas, on the same occasion, Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, in derision of a proposition to inquire into the number of slaves held in connection with Presbyterian churches at the South, moved to amend it by inquiring into "the number of Northern church members who attend meetings of Spiritual Rappers, Bloomers, or Women's Rights Conventions, and who are cruel or hen-pecked husbands"—and at the same time pronouncing "Uncle Tom's Cabin" a bad book—"bad in its theology, and bad in its morality," and that "the impression made by the book is a falsehood"—and telling "the Northern philanthropist to learn from the Bible that God nowhere says Slavery is a sin, and that the Golden Rule may exist in the relations of Slavery"—and defiantly proclaiming to the Assembly, "It is just simply a fixed fact—the South will not submit to your inquiries; no, not for an instant! We will not permit you to approach us at all"—and

Whereas, the Rev. Dr. Eddy said, "He was tired of the discussion of Slavery, and longed for repose; he believed that the great Head of the Church (!) asked for repose on this subject;"—and the Rev. Dr. Cox, on the presentation of a paper from the Oswego Presbytery, refusing to send Commissioners until the General Assembly absolves itself from the sin of Slavery, by declining fellowship with slaveholding churches, said: "He was grieved at the bad action of the Presbytery, and strongly reprobated it; so that, if he let the Old Adam work within him, he would not only be in favour of laying the paper on the table, but would kick it under the table"—and the Rev. Dr. Aiken said the memorial "was insulting to the General Assembly," and Mr. Ingersoll "considered it beneath the self-respect of this body to notice it," and Mr. Niles declared that "the Presbytery of Oswego should be dealt with as self-convicted culprits," and the Rev. Mr. Torry, of Virginia, said: "We came into the Assembly slaveholding churches, and so long as Slavery exists in the South, such are the circumstances of the case, we must so continue; and we cannot remain in connection with you, unless any action that seeks to sanction interference with this question from without"—and

Whereas, these monstrous declarations elicited no rebuke from any quarter in the Assembly; therefore

9. Resolved, That this Convention feels warranted in branding the General Assembly aforesaid as a brotherhood of man-stealers, "a cage of unclean birds, and the synagogue of Satan."

10. Resolved, That the Old School General Assembly, convened at the same period in Philadelphia, in disdaining to entertain the question of Slavery for discussion, though embracing thousands of slaveholders in its communion, demonstrated its conscience to be seared as with a hot iron, its heart harder than adamant, and its profession of Christianity the name of impiety and blasphemy.

11. Resolved, That whatever Presbyterian Church, Synod or Presbytery, is willing to endorse the religious character of either the Old or New School General Assembly, and in its proposed fraternity in religious fellowship, is thereby pledged to indemnify pro-slavery, and thus sustain it.

12. Resolved, That, gathering from the proceedings of the grave conclave, the remarkable fact of the ablest, the best, most gifted, and pre-eminently meritorious advocates of the slave, whose testimony deserves to be held in lasting remembrance, this Convention would take fresh inspiration from the life and labours of the late ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER, the first of her sex publicly to espouse the cause of the oppressed held in the galling fetters of Slavery, the effectual conqueror of the haughty LEWIS, and the thrilling denouncer of the scum and horrors of the American slave system.

13. Resolved, That as the motto of the American slaveholder is, "No union with the Abolitionists, religiously or politically," so the corresponding friends of the slave are pledged to renounce the entire and guilty union between religious and political fellowship to slaveholders.—*Eagle.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to STEPHEN HOWARD GAY, New York.

Donations to the Treasury of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to STEPHEN HOWARD GAY, New York.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1853.

Second Decade Anniversary OF THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

IT is almost twenty years since the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was organized by a Convention held for that purpose in the City of Philadelphia. How eventful is the history of the Society and of our country during this period! The Society, faithful in a good degree to the great principles on which, as upon the Everlasting Rock, it was so wisely founded, has gone forward steadily and fearlessly in its work of exposing the sinfulness of Slavery and its dire effects upon the pecuniary prosperity, the political relations, and the moral character of the Nation, and demanding, as the right of the slave and the duty of the master, Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation. Happy would it have been for our country, and O how happy for those who now pine in bondage! if the voice then lifted up in the name of Justice and Liberty had been heeded and obeyed. But, alas! the American People, like Pharaoh of old, hardened their hearts, refusing to obey the mandate of Jehovah, and practically demanding, "Who is the Lord, that we should obey his voice, to let our bondmen go? We know not the Lord, neither will we let our bondmen go." The area of Slavery has been immensely increased by iniquitous legislation and at the expense of a bloody and atrocious war; the number of slaves has augmented from two and a half to nearly four millions; and the Slave Power exults in the enactment of a new statute for the recovery of fugitive bondmen—a statute worthy of the spirit of Caligula and Draco, and disgraceful alike to our professions of Republicanism, Civilization and Christianity. Each advancing step in the progress of the Society has revealed a still "lower deep" of national corruption and profligacy, until both Church and State are shown to be utterly defiled by the dark spirit of Slavery, and the Constitution so contaminated as to leave no alternative to the friends of freedom but to repudiate its obligations or renounce their allegiance to God.

But notwithstanding these developments of national profligacy, we are far from being discouraged. Indeed, we see in these developments a sure sign of progress and a pledge of final success. We have compelled Slavery to exhibit itself in its true character before mankind; we have succeeded in fixing upon its hideous features the steady gaze of the whole civilized world; we have formed a nucleus around which is gathering, surely if not as rapidly as we could wish, a MORAL POWER which will ere long prove itself too mighty to be successfully resisted. We now know, as we did not at first, the height and depth, the length and breadth of the evil which we are struggling to overthrow, and this knowledge is an important preparation for the work that remains to be done. Profiting by the experience of the past, and having a never-failing source of encouragement in the consciousness that our cause is just, and that God and Truth are on our side, we must go forward, regardless of every obstacle, and undismayed by every danger that may beset our path.

In accordance with the vote of the Society at its last Annual Meeting, we hereby invite its members and friends to assemble in Sansom Street Hall, Philadelphia, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, December 3d, 4th and 5th, to celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary of its Formation. The meeting will open on the first day above named at 10 o'clock, A. M. We hope to see a representation of friends of the cause from every free State, and that, by the presence and labours of many eloquent champions of freedom, the meeting may be instrumental in strengthening the Anti Slavery Sentiment of the country and hastening the day when Liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

By order of the Executive Committee.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Pres.*
EDMUND QUINCY, } *Cor. Secretaries.*
SYDNEY H. GAY, }
WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Rec. Secretary.*

☞ Papers friendly to the Society are requested to copy the above notice.

MARIA LOWELL.

THE *Standard* of last week announced the death of MRS JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, of Cambridge, Mass., on the 27th ult. To the sad significance of that brief record there need be no addition to impress those who knew her with a renewed sense of the beauty and perfection of that character which had in life so won their love and admiration; but as it is good that such women live, and good to meet them, though it be by the wayside, in our journey through the world, so also is it well, when such as one falls and is hidden from our eyes forever, to turn our own sight backward for a moment, and point out to others the bright and pleasant path she has trod, where flowers were ever springing up under her feet, and where the warm sunlight was ever playing.

Maria Lowell was one of these rare women. It is well that she has lived, though she has fallen just beyond the threshold of life. The memory of her will be always green in very many hearts that may, perhaps, beat for half-a-century longer, and never, till they part with all that they most cherish, will they cease to rejoice that the privilege of knowing and of loving her was theirs. We should feel that it were a good deed done if, even to a very few who knew her not, except by name, we could convey an adequate impression of how worthy she was of being thus remembered and thus mourned.

Her friendship was a gift which none fit to have could fail to prize; but an intimate knowledge of her even was not needed for the assurance that her nature was a combination of qualities which are given but to few. It was not merely that her very presence was filled with the loveliness and grace which alone belong to woman, but it was that with the sight of these came also the instinctive and instantaneous sense of a purity of heart that might personify the woman, and of that clearness of insight which mere intellect cannot give. A nearer view of her character might explain this first impression, or casual observation, but would hardly deepen its effect.

It is not much to say that her character was well-balanced, as that is so often understood as meaning not merely that there is equal weight on all sides, but no great weight anywhere. Her qualities were not only well counter-poised, but they were in themselves such as are rarely found in one person in such degree. She was full of tenderness, and of a most merciful nature; but none of the weakness which sometimes go with these was here, for she was sternly just. Insincerity was unmasked before her, and she saw through all pretensions, not merely because she was intellectually clear-sighted, but because she was instinctively so also. Yet she weighed the circumstances and temptations around others: and while she judged the wrong, the wrong-doer, and she merely weak, it was with so much of the divine justice as can be given to the human nature. Neither custom, nor fashion, nor public opinion swayed her judgment, but she looked at all things in the light of absolute truth, and saw the right as right, and the wrong as wrong. And with her sense of justice was a high womanly courage, for she did not fear her own convictions. Yet he would much mistake our meaning who thinks that with this rare quality there was any of that harshness which sometimes distinguishes very uncompromising people. Perhaps in nothing was she more remarkable, certainly in nothing more attractive, than in the strikingly uniform gentleness and equanimity of her temper and bearing, and the natural, unstudied and graceful consideration for the comfort, the feelings and the peculiarities of others. Short as her life was, there has been growing into it much gentleness; yet her sympathies were never blunted; and if the gloom settled down over her own soul, it never lessened the light that surrounded her as an atmosphere. The fine polish of her cheerfulness may have been dimmed, but was never stained.

Had her life been spared and time been given her for a longer exercise of her powers, the age would one day, doubtless, have recognised her, as she is, one of its true poets. That she is not now, perhaps, much known as such is not because she has not written well; but because she has written little. What she has given us certainly entitles her to be named as the first of the poetesses of this country; indeed, there is not much poetry of our time of a higher character than that of her "Africa," written four years ago. Her later poems, all, at least, which we have seen, though few and brief, are characterised by the same beauty and power. Her would she have been less successful as an artist, had she made art a profession. With great musical dexterity and mechanical talent, she united the most exquisite taste and perception in colour and arrangement; and though her love and scene of the beautiful were constantly leading her to exercise her genius in this direction, it was only for the sake of her friends, and for the adornment of her own home. There are many such precious treasures from her hand which speak at once of the sensibility of the woman's heart and the power of the artist.

Mrs. Lowell was 32 years of age, and has been the mother of four children, of whom one only is now living. She was a daughter of the late Abijah White, of Watertown, Mass., and has been married nine years. Inexplicable, mysterious, and terrible, especially to those who were nearest and dearest to her, as her early death is, yet even to them must come, in due season, the consolation that they were permitted to go hand in hand with a being so gifted for a part of the weary way of life's journey.

THE WEAKNESS OF SLAVERY.

A DISCUSSION has been going on for some time, in Alabama, as to the propriety of exempting a certain number of slaves from forced sale under execution, and a law ensuring some provision of this character, it is thought, will be enacted at the ensuing Legislature of the State. Its object is evidently and avowedly to strengthen the system of Slavery, by increasing the number of slaveholders. It is in fact a bribe to men of small means to become personally interested in Slavery by investing their capital in a species of property which may be held in spite of creditors. It is, moreover, to be made beneficial to the State in another way, as the persons applying for the benefit of it are to pay a *bonus* of twenty-five dollars for any slave, not exceeding five, so exempted, and the fund so created is to be used for purposes of education.

The whole scheme is an acknowledgement of the weakness of Slavery, as it is based upon the fact that there is a large class which is not interested in the perpetuation of the system, and whose support it is worth while to purchase. One of the most earnest advocates of the law, who has been writing a series of articles in favour of it, meets the argument that the law will be an acknowledgment that Slavery needs support by some admissions, which, as made in Alabama, are worth reading. He says:

"There is no disguising that the institution (Slavery) is weak, nor will the avowal render our position more dangerous, especially if we couple with it evidences of a determination to add to its strength. The unequal distribution of slaves, as exhibited in the census returns—the restlessness we manifest whenever the institution is assailed—the conduct of our public men—the readiness with which they have yielded to free soil demands in the settlement of controversies in which the rights of the slave States were involved—the ardour with which we contend for the annexation of Texas, because it would enlarge the area of Slavery—the desire so general in the South for the incorporation into the Union of the Island of Cuba from the belief that it would strengthen the slave States—the general outbreak of indignation (as it were but yesterday) following the announcement that England and France were prepared to enter into negotiations with Spain, the objects of which was to provide for the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba—all attest its weakness and our own sense of it.

"The moral power of the world is arrayed against us on this subject. European governments and people regard Slavery as a reproach. The French republic, even while her garments were dripping with the blood of revolution, celebrates her birth by decreeing emancipation in her colonies. In England, her parliament rings with denunciations of American Slavery. Her diplomatists and statesmen scheme against, her Foreign Secretaries protest against the statute of a sovereign State prohibiting coloured mariners from entering her ports; address formal remonstrances to the general government, and when told that the matter rests in the State alone, and is beyond the reach of federal action, lament the inefficiency of international law to abate the grievance. The wives and daughters of British peers and officials address American women, invoking them to aid in removing what these titled intermeddlers regard as an abomination in the sight of God. A gifted but heartless woman, false to her sex, false to her country, dead to all sense of truth, delicacy (and I use almost said decency), writes for a base, bad purpose, a book libelling her sex, and slandering her countrymen, and when she visits England with the feeling of a traitor mingled with the rapacity of a usurer, she is feted and honoured by Lords and Commons, peers and peasants.

"Men of all ranks and classes beyond the ocean unite in protesting against the institution.

"In this country, parties, sects and States have warred against it in every form, except by a resort to arms.

"Our very sensitiveness under these assaults argues our fears of the strength of the institution.

"To think, then, of concealing a weakness which is so patent, is absurd; and to caution us against acknowledging it, is to make cowards of us. Let us not deceive ourselves.

"We stand alone, with nothing to break or turn aside the force of *opinion*, which surges and roars around us as an angry flood.

"Nowhere but in the slave States are the defenders of Slavery to be found. There and there only is to be found whatever strength it has. The strength needed depends upon ourselves, and must be supplied at home.

"If there be indifference to the institution on the part of our non-slaveholding citizens, this feeling must be supplanted by one of interest in and for it. Inv

LUCY STONE AT LOUISVILLE.

Last week we gave an account of a visit recently made to Maysville, Ky., by Lucretia Mott, and of two lectures delivered by her in that place upon Anti-Slavery and other topics. This week we have the pleasure of informing our readers of another notable event, viz., the advent of Lucy Stone at Louisville, for the purpose of giving a course of lectures upon the Rights and Duties of Woman. We know nothing of the circumstances by which her steps were directed to that place; but the reception awarded to her in one of the chief cities of the slaveholding States is a matter in which all Abolitionists, whatever may be their opinions on the subject of Woman's Rights, must feel a deep interest. True, she did not go there for Anti-Slavery purposes, specifically, but her well-known position as a Disunion Abolitionist and Lecturer makes her appearance in such a place an event of no ordinary character. For this reason we copy the following notices of her first lecture from the principal daily journals of Louisville. It will be seen that, in spite of all the prejudices excited against her by the abuse of the Northern pro-slavery press, and in the face of the fact that she is a radical Abolitionist, she has met a very cordial reception among the Kentuckians. Perhaps, before her departure, she may have an opportunity of speaking on the subject of Slavery as freely as she has spoken on the subject of Woman's Rights. At any rate, her private intercourse with the people will open channels of Anti-Slavery influence which she cannot fail to improve.

Miss Lucy Stone.—The lecture of this lady at the Mozart Hall, last evening, was well attended, and the audience appeared to be gratified. The novelty of the subject to our people, and the singularity of the Bloomer, with the boldness of the lecturer, in stepping from the sphere usually assigned to woman, drew a large number from curiosity—but the talents of the speaker are unquestionably worthy of notice, and her language and style of delivery, of praise. She portrayed the neglect of the education and development of woman, in an impressive and useful manner, whatever may be public opinion concerning her ultra doctrines on woman's rights. She undoubtedly teaches many useful lessons, and the lecture of last evening abounds in matters worthy of reflection.

The programme of the lecture for this evening, on the Political rights and disabilities of woman, may be more objectionable and ultra, but for the present we say Miss Lucy, in her Bloomer, is worth hearing. She speaks too low, and many of her auditory lost much of both the sense and beauty of her remarks. Her utterance is somewhat too rapid, and she often hesitates for words to close her sentence, and carry out her thought. Her gesticulation is often ungraceful, but her voice is finely toned, and only requires use and elevation in the manner which she urges so much, concerning woman, "*development.*"—*St. Louis Democrat, Nov. 3d.*

The Lecture Last Night.—Miss Lucy Stone was astonished, the public was astonished, and we were astonished at the very large audience assembled, last night, in Mozart Hall. The evening was very inclement—rainy, muddy, sloppy, and for long-skirted ladies decidedly draggly. Still there were many hundreds present to hear Miss Stone's first lecture on Woman's Rights; the room was indeed quite full, chiefly of gentlemen, and the preponderance husbands.

The lecture, we can unhesitatingly say, was chuck full of common sense, that being its peculiar and most pleasing feature. Miss Stone is most certainly an extraordinary woman, and possessed of powers of extempore address rarely the birth-right or acquired property of even celebrated male orators. Her first lecture was mainly introductory, and embraced a general view of the great question of Reform, upon which her heart is fixed. In a clear, firm voice, and with appropriate gestures, she discoursed eloquently on Woman's rights and duties. Her decided opinion is, that the usages of the place, and not her nature, have hitherto marked woman's sphere; that to her, as to man, all the avenues to usefulness and honour, to self-reliance and self-support, should be opened; that, while facilities for her physical development should be equal with those for our boys, and her hands should be taught to work in the household and elsewhere, the culture of her *mind* must be attended to so as to enable her to do what she pleases that is right, and to meet all emergencies in whatever position she may be placed either by fate or her own free will.

To-night she delivers her second lecture, and will confine her remarks more specially to the legal disabilities of Woman—a matter of great interest to both sexes, and which will be greatly elucidated by her clear and happy faculty of reasoning. We again bespeak a large audience for the fair orator.—*Courier.*

Miss Lucy Stone's Lecture on Women's Rights—A large audience assembled last night, at the Mozart Hall, for the purpose of hearing the lecture of Miss Lucy Stone. We confess that we were greatly delighted. The lecture was one of the ablest, clearest, most forcible and beautiful productions we ever heard. And the style of delivery was quite equal to the matter. It was an appropriate setting to the rich gems of mind with which the fair orator delighted the assemblage before her. The lecture was a noble appeal in behalf of the right of every woman to develop every faculty she possesses, and to give her powers, under the law of benevolence, such scope and range as men are not only permitted but encouraged to take. She earnestly pleaded that she who was to be a wife and mother should be prepared for the responsibilities of the sacred trust; that the universe of mind should be open to her, to traverse it without let or hindrance from any quarter. But the speaker urged that she should thus be free in all the noblest pursuits of humanity, not merely because she could thus become a better wife and mother, but because she is a human being, and is entitled to any blessing that belongs to humanity. We are sure that we never heard anything, nor read anything, more impressive, more chaste, more noble and eloquent on these subjects than the remarks of Miss Stone, last night. She is perfectly at home in every department of her theme. She even succeeds in throwing beauty around invective. What, indeed, could be more beautiful than her denunciations of those wrongs of society that make of men and women mere fragments of men and women? Where was ever uttered anything more chaste than the picture she drew of woman in a state of infamy?

Upon every portion of the theme of last night, Miss Stone was triumphant. She successfully carried her immense audience with her to every position she sought, and they gave her numerous evidences of the high appreciation in which they held her. The correctness and beauty of her sentiments went home to every heart, we are sure; and we can conceive of no possible objection that any one could make to a single sentiment she uttered last night. And it is impossible to express too high an admiration of the beauty, propriety and elegance of her diction. In that respect alone her lectures would remunerate any mind alive to beauty and improvement. She, who can thus command the highest intellection, the noblest impulses of the heart, the utmost refinements of sentiment, and the loftiest powers of language, may, indeed, feel that woman has powers for all the fields of intellect that usage, not Providence, has consecrated to man. In the fullness of her power she may point triumphantly to the example of Deborah in the judgment-seat of Israel, and ask what small law yers have to say to that for women's sphere.

We are limited now to a narrow space of time for putting our paper to press, or we should say more. We never felt, in as great a degree, our incapacity to do justice to a lecture. The pleasure we felt in hearing it was so great that we wished that every one we love was present to mingle in this rich and rare feast of the mind. We do not know how Miss Lucy would do before a jury, in a matter of law, but we are confident the immense jury that felt the enchantments of her intellect last night would have given a verdict in her favour. Everybody seemed to be converted to that part of the question elucidated last night, and as we feel sure that the principles thus and then set forth would largely increase the happiness of the world, we earnestly hope that no one of the converts will be as brisk as the Irishman who said he joined the Methodist Church on a probation of six months, and behaved himself in such a way that he was let off "wid three months."

Miss Stone regretted last night that there were not wives and daughters in her immense audience, and she begged the gentlemen to report what she had said to their wives and daughters. But, alas, who shall undertake to say what she said in such lofty and noble style, that others would feel insignificant in the attempt. Our advice is, that everybody who can shall go to Mozart Hall to-night and hear for themselves. Our fear is that Mozart Hall will not hold half her audience to-night. We are certain there are few, if there is one, who was present last night, who will feel disposed to be absent to-night: and when the local fame she made in her lecture here travels through the city, everybody will wish to hear this gifted woman. There is not a virtuous woman in the city who should not feel proud of Miss Stone.

The lecture to-night is on the legal and political rights of woman, and the lecture will commence at half past seven o'clock. Those who wish to secure seats will have to go early. We went tolerably early last night, and had to stand up throughout the lecture.

Miss Lucy Stone appeared in the Bloomer costume last night, and it seemed very becoming to her. How far we might be pleased with its general adoption we cannot say.—*Prentice's Daily Journal.*

☞ Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, formerly of Baltimore, and widely known as an Abolitionist of the Free Soil school, has, we are glad to learn, been appointed to the chair of Medical Jurisprudence in a Hydropathic Medical School recently started in this city, with encouraging prospects of success.

A case has been tried this week, before the Superior Court for this county, involving principles interesting to that portion of the northern people who loook upon us of the South as barbarians. It was a suit brought by a coloured man for his *freedom*, and the jury gave a verdict in his favour. We give the facts of the case.

George Allen (coloured) brought an action of trespass *vi et armis* against Elkanah Allen (white) for that the latter had illegally deprived him of his liberty. The evidence on the part of the plaintiff consisted of a record of emancipation of one Clara Beal or Allen, by one Elkanah Allen, her master, and the grandfather of the present defendant, and under whom he claimed. The record bore date July 26, 1808, at a court of pleas and quarter sessions for the county of Brunswick. It was admitted that Clara was the grandmother of the present plaintiff, and the mother of Kitty Ann, mother of the plaintiff. The issue submitted to the jury was: was Kitty Ann Allen, mother of the plaintiff, born subsequent or prior to July 26, 1808. Evidence submitted by plaintiff and defendant alternately supported and defeated both sides of this issue. It was objected on the part of defendant that the act of emancipation was not valid, for the reason that there was no evidence to satisfy the court that the bond given by Elkanah Allen, the grandfather of defendant, was executed by him, and that therefore the act of emancipation was not perfect, but void. It was contented by plaintiff's counsel that the bond formed no part of the record, and that if the master filed his petition to the court, praying permission to emancipate his slave, and that the prayer was granted, the slave stood *ipso facto* free (1st Dev. and Bat. Bryan vs. Wadsworth); and that the act of assembly required the bond to be filed under certain penalties, but did not make the liberation of the slave to depend upon that act. The fiat of the court, upon hearing the petition, liberated the slave, if favourable to the master's wishes.

Upon the e facts submitted to the jury, they rendered a verdict, after the lapse of a half hour, in favour of the plaintiff.

For the plaintiff—Messrs. J. G. Wright and Adam Empie, jr., Esqs.; for defendant—Hon. Robert Strange and T. C. Miller, Esq.

The case was argued with ability, and we trust we violate no professional courtesy in awarding to the effort of Mr. Empie that high degree of praise which seems to have been conceded to it by the listeners present during its delivery.—*Wilmington (N. C.) Herald.*

We find the above report copied into the *Washington Union*, under the head of "Rights of Slaves in a Slave State." The *Union* says of it that it "is preserved for the use of some of our Northern contemporaries, who assert that the rights of slaves are disregarded and of no avail in the slave States." Of course the *Union* knows very well that its remark is totally without application to those at whom it is aimed, and that the title which it prefixes to the second is altogether a misnomer. The case is one which does not touch the right of slaves, but is simply a judicial decision that a freeman is entitled to his liberty; and nobody, that we ever heard of, in asserting that the rights of slaves are disregarded, in the Slave States, has meant by that statement that men free by Southern law are without legal protection. When the *Wilmington Herald* or the *Washington Union* has a case to report wherein a slave has brought an action against his master for his freedom, on the ground that by natural right and by the common law he is a freeman, and a decision is given in his favour, those papers may then properly record it as a case illustrative of the "Rights of Slaves in a Slave State," and the Northern contemporaries will rejoice to acknowledge that a new era has commenced at the South, and that the old statement is no longer absolutely true.

Nevertheless the *Union* will find plenty of Northern contemporaries who will copy this very report and, either stupidly or maliciously, aver that it disproves an Anti-Slavery fact and substantiates a pro-slavery argument.

Kidnappers' Hunting Grounds.—The following extract from a letter written by Parker Pillsbury to the *Liberator* reveals a state of things which should cause every American citizen to blush. There is no remedy for this system of kidnapping of the free but in the total abolition of the hellish system in which it originates. The public opinion which consents to the existence and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act cannot be relied upon to interpose any effectual obstacle to the kidnapping of the free.

The three States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are, in their southern portions, as regular hunting-grounds for kidnappers as the California plains are for wild cattle. I have no doubt Covington, in Kentucky, and Cincinnati, separated only by the Ohio, are the central points of organized gangs of the most desperate counterfeiters and kidnappers who ever looked through the grates of a prison, or stretched a halter. No coloured man, woman or child, is safe. Houses have been broken open at midnight, in two instances, since I have been travelling here, and the inmates manacled and carried off. In both cases, however, the victims have been recovered and returned. But the hell-hounds in whose fangs they were found have escaped unharmed.

I do not believe the Fugitive Slave Law was intended by its designers to recapture fugitive slaves. The South are mad that so many of their victims escape to Canada; and this law was passed to allow of reprisals upon the homes of free coloured people, who live upon Slavery's frontiers, in order to keep full the ranks of screaming and sweating sorrow.

And this the Law is doing, aided by such miscreants as McLean, Flinn, Spooner, Grier and Ingraham; and a brood of Commissioners and Marshals, more hateful far than Milton's "yelling monsters," whose birth "tore the entrails of Sin, their infernal mother, begotten upon her in rape most foul, by Death, her first-born son, as she sat prostrate at the gate of hell." Hundreds, and more likely thousands, of Solomon Northups and their families are this hour in Slavery, torn from homes as free and happy as any in America.

Nobody is safe. The late case of arrest at Niagara Falls shows that a white skin is no security whatever. I should no more dare to send children out alone, especially at night, did I live within ten or twenty miles of the Ohio river, than I should dare send them into a forest of tigers and hyenas. I have taken special pains to warn the coloured people, above all things, to be on their guard. Kidnapping is now a *regular calling*; and the United States Courts are accessories in the work!! For the love of God and humanity, let it be exposed!

☞ The Salem (Mass.) *Freeman* says: "We are in possession of facts in regard to Caleb Cushing, *which in due time shall be given to the public*, which will show that he *earnestly solicited the aid of Free Soilers* to secure his confirmation as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. This political renegade, this modern Judas, has received the 'thirty pieces of silver.' He has but one more act to perform to establish a perfect claim to 'ancient though ignoble blood.'"

New York Election.—The election on Tuesday resulted in the choice of the whole Whig State ticket, and of a majority of the same party in both branches of the Legislature. This, of course, is the effect of the split in the so-called Democratic ranks. It is believed that a majority of the new Legislature is in favour of the Maine Law.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

John H. Gurley, a coloured man from Boston, has been holding meetings in Crawford Co., Pa. A writer in the *Bugle* says he is a man of power and eloquence; and, what is better, he states that the prospects of the cause in that region are highly flattering.

—The Cleveland *Forest City Democrat* of Saturday last says: "Miss Sallie Holley's address at National Hall last evening was one of the most eloquent appeals for the oppressed slave ever delivered in this city. By special request she has consented to speak again this evening, at the same place, on the same subject."

—The *Bugle* of the 5th inst. says: "Miss Holley lectured last week in Monroe, Michigan, and in Toledo, Ohio. The meeting in Monroe, we learn, was well attended and highly successful. Miss Holly returns this week to her home in New York, and, we regret to say it, with somewhat impaired health."

—Parker Pillsbury, in a letter to the *Bugle*, speaks of holding successful meetings Zanesfield, Logan Co., Ohio, among the Congregational, or Progressive, Friends of that region, whom he found holding fast their faith in the midst of surrounding darkness. Friends of this school, he thinks, "are the only true representatives of Benezet and Woolman now left in America."

—William W. Brown writes to S. May, Jr., under date of London, Oct. 8, as follows:

William Craft called to day to see me, and wished to be kindly remembered to you. He thinks of setting up a lodging-house in London. Ellen does not enjoy very good health. I am still going the rounds, giving lectures on American Slavery, and sometimes on other subjects, to mechanics and literary institutions. I am now looking over the proof-sheets of "Clotel, or the President's Daughter," a new work of mine now going through the press. I watch with interest the doings of my old coadjutors, and never take up a *Liberator* or a *Standard*, containing accounts of meetings or conventions, without feeling like taking the next boat for Boston. I am not tired of old England, yet I want to be back in America.

—Rev. A. T. Foss is working faithfully as a lecturer in Worcester Co., Mass. In Blackstone, on Sunday, the 23d ult., he spoke *four* times to good audiences; the last time in the Methodist Church in that part of the town known as Millville. Of that meeting Mr. Foss, in a letter to the *Liberator*, says:

The Methodist Episcopal minister had recently delivered a sermon, professedly against the Fugitive Slave Law, but really in defence of his church against the charge of being pro-slavery. I of course chose for my subject the relations of the M. E. Church to the Slave Power. I am told the excitement is considerable in the village, and the Anti-Slavery folks say it is the best effort I have ever made. I have just received a number of pressing invitations to come again soon. I feel much refreshed in body and soul this morning.

If there is a personal devil, I have no doubt he rejoiced over my failures last week; but he got the worst of it yesterday.

—The Congregational Church at Weymouth, Medina Co., Ohio, was freely opened for Anti-Slavery meetings on the 27th ult. Addresses were delivered by W. L. Garrison and the Editor of the *Bugle*. The Pastor of the church, Rev. J. L. Seymour, attended and manifested an interest in their proceedings and objects. At the conclusion of the meetings, he remarked, publicly, addressing himself to Mr. Garrison, "I have no quarrel with you." Afterwards, on Sunday, Mr. Garrison spoke three times in the Town Hall, in the same place. The *Bugle*, from which our knowledge of these facts is derived, says that, at this place, as elsewhere, Mr. Garrison's principles, his presence and his manner, all tended to remove prejudice and arouse an interest in the cause of the outcast.

—The New Bedford (Mass.) *Republican Standard* of the 3d inst. says:

Anti-Slavery addresses were made in Liberty Hall, through the day and evening of Sunday, by Messrs. Wendell Phillips and Charles L. Remond. The attendance was numerous, and the attention given to the speakers close and profound. Mr. Phillips, as an orator, a man of letters and the highest culture, has few or no equals. Whatever may be the subject which enlists his sympathy and support, he urges it upon the minds of his hearers with an eloquence that is almost irresistible in its influence. He is a man that has made his mark upon the times, as few men could do, and though he advocates a cause which finds a response in but few hearts, still the sincerity and earnestness of his appeals, and the eloquence of persuasion which characterizes them, find him ready and willing hearers whenever he is pleased to address the public.

Mr. Remond is a young coloured gentleman of superior ability and education. He is a graceful and eloquent speaker and is always listened to with pleasure.

MUCH IN LITTLE.

The Chicago *Tribune* speaks in very high terms of the speeches recently made in that city by Frederick Douglass. One of those speeches it pronounces "the most forcible and eloquent we have ever heard, though it has been our pleasure to listen to some of the most distinguished statesmen, during the last fifteen years;" and it adds: "Mr. D. is certainly no common man. Intellectually, he stands as a giant alongside of the *white* Douglas, and three-fourths of those who constitute the 'assembled wisdom of the nation.'"

—The Princeton *Quarterly Review*, the solemn organ of the Old School Presbyterian Church, talks luminously on the subject of miracles, thus:

"Satan has, no doubt, power to produce supernatural effects; that is, effects which involve a suspension of the laws of nature. . . . If he showed Christ all the kingdoms of the earth in a moment of time, this involved a suspension of the known laws of nature. If God were to show to us such a sight, it would be a miracle; if done by Satan, it is no miracle. It is essential to miracles that they should be the works of God, *i. e.* works produced by his immediate agency."

Into such foolery as this do men plunge, when, rejecting the practical righteousness of the Gospel and prostituting their powers to the advocacy of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave act, they set themselves to the work of framing systems of dogmatic theology. Until the Church learns the Divine lesson of Humanity before Creeds, of Obedience before Speculation, her theology must necessarily be foggy, incoherent and heathenish.

POLITICS.

The Free Democracy of Ashtabula County, Ohio, having nominated for Sheriff and Treasurer two men who were "almost Garrisonians," the cry of "infidelity" and "comeouterism" was raised by their opponents, and the Democrats and Whigs "compromised" their differences for the purpose of defeating them; but they were elected notwithstanding. The *Christian Press* must look to it, or its own political party will get tainted with "infidelity."

—Samuel Lewis, the Free Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio in the recent election, has addressed a letter to the "Friends of Freedom" in that State, earnestly exhorting them to press forward "until our general government shall be administered for freedom and justice; until Slavery shall be driven from the seat of government; the coast-wise slave trade is abolished; our territories dedicated to Freedom; the fugitive slave act repealed; *Slavery driven to take shelter within and under the power of such States as may still give it protection*; until our own State shall vindicate herself from abject surveillance to the slave power; and the great principles of exact justice to all men be applied in all legislative, judicial, and executive proceedings." He reminds his friends that, in order to attain these objects, they must support the local presses of the party and "circulate tracts and facts among the people;" and he calls upon them to contribute largely and liberally of their pecuniary means. It will be seen that he contemplates, partywise, not the entire abolition of Slavery, but the driving of it to take shelter within and under the power of the States that may choose to tolerate it. This is a very different object from that which the Abolitionists are seeking, but the moral agitation which even such a project renders necessary will do good.

—The state of public affairs in the Territory of New Mexico is of the combustible sort. A letter from Santa Fe to the *Ohio State Journal* says:

The election for delegate to Congress took place on the 5th of September—the candidates being Governor Lane and Padre Gallegos. About 10,000 votes were cast, and the result so close that Congress will have to decide which one of them is entitled to the seat. Padre Gallegos was one of the Priests suspended by Bishop L'Amy for living in open violation of the rules of the Church, and the contest between him and Governor Lane was really an issue between those in favour of *Mexican customs* and those in favour of the reforms carried out by the American Bishop. The excitement during the election was very great. The new Governor Merriwether, and the Chief Justice Davenport, were hung in effigy at the top of the flag staff in the Plaza at Santa Fe. The feeling between the American and Mexican population is worse than ever. No man thinks of going without his fire-arms by day, and I presume there is not a single American in the territory but sleeps with his pistols under his pillow at night. The Mexicans, with a very few exceptions, do not like our Government. Should war break out with Mexico, and they be compelled to take sides, they would assuredly take the side of old Mexico.

TEMPERANCE.

Baltimore has elected the Maine Law ticket for members of the Legislature by about 1,000 majority.

—The Choctaws have a law more stringent than that of Maine. It is now punishable with a fine of three dollars to bring a bottle of liquor into the nation. The penalty for the second offence is five dollars, and for the third ten dollars. These fines have been demanded and paid, principally the first. The next General Council will make the penalty for the first offence twenty-five dollars, and for the second, fifty. This shows some progress.

—The Maine Law is defeated for the present in Ohio, but the friends of the cause are picking their flints preparatory to another shot at the Liquor traffic. The Western Reserve performed nobly for the right, but the South gave up its distillery legions in solid column. Rum-cursed Cincinnati poured out from its reeking hells and recreant households their kindred hordes, ready to sacrifice all to the curse, and endorsed it by a majority of 5,000.

—A correspondent of the *Tribune* writes from Troy that, a few nights since, two men drank rum upon a wager at a rum-hole in Congress street in that city. One of them cheated by throwing the liquor under the table or over his shoulder; the other drank 37 glasses, and died in consequence. The landlord furnished a carriage for the mother and friends of the deceased, and gave $25 toward the funeral expenses. He seems to have exhibited some little conscience—after it was too late.

—A County Convention held at Worcester, Mass., a few days since, adopted the following resolution without dissent from any quarter.

Resolved, That it is a grievous injury to the Temperance movement (as well as a great injustice) to exclude any person from its platform, on account of sex or colour; and that this is not merely objectionable when it is the *act of a riotous minority* (as at a recent Convention in New York), but when it is *the formal act of a majority*, as at the recent State Temperance Convention at Boston.

—Parker Pillsbury, writing to the *Liberator*, explains clearly enough the obstacles in the way of the Temperance cause (and the Anti-Slavery cause also) in the Southern part of Ohio.

But the Southern half of the State has a different class of people, to begin with. Then the whiskey trade is good, and the best soil in the world is prostituted in great quantities to the growth of corn for so infamous a purpose. When I was at New Richmond, a dismal, dirty-looking little town on the Ohio river, I visited a distillery where a thousand bushels of corn are daily *bedeviled* into nearly a hundred barrels of whiskey. Day after day and night after night, year in and year out, the fires of the infernal alembic are blazing. Eight thousand hogs were fattening on the *grounds*, or rather, refuse matter, all under one set of roofs. When the cholera swept through the country, in 1849, that place lost more of its inhabitants, in proportion to population, than any other in the United States.

This whiskey manufacture and trade will long be a serious obstacle to the spread, not only of temperance, but of every virtuous principle. It is most lamentable to see God's beautiful earth aggravating and heightening even Eden's allegorical curse—for who had not far rather see most luxuriant growths of 'thorns and thistles,' than to behold immense prairies teeming with corn for distillation, almost wholly, and all the slopes and surroundings planted with not less hateful tobacco? Such are the sights you must behold all over the southern and southwestern parts of Ohio. And the people, in great proportion, seem *sun-struck* with the curse. A newspaper item tells how many 'millions of bushels of corn were raised and distilled, besides many thousands more that were *wasted* in making bread;' and multitudes seem not to see the terrible irony. I heard one of the poor fellows boasting of how much it cost him for drink. He said he'd "be damned if he threw all his money away on bread and clothes." Beggard battalions of such are everywhere marching to ruin in almost all the West.

DOMESTIC CORRESPONDENCE.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CXXXV.

The Argument.—*Heavy loss to the readers—The Correspondent compassionateth them—He praiseth Uncle Sam—And magnifieth the virtue of Procrastination—His theories, as to the loss of his letter, terrestrial and celestial—His visit to New York—His journey—Death by Accident and Old Age—His opinion of the Crystal Palace—Of Massachusetts Politics—Microscopical Divisions—He describeth them—His personal opinions and risks—The Constitution—Messrs. Palfrey, Adams, &c.—Mr. Palfrey's pamphlet, &c., &c., &c.*

Boston, Nov. 8, 1853.

I regret to be obliged to announce to the readers of the paper that they have met with a loss, irreparable to them and to me. I refer to the loss of one of my letters. This calamity occurred on this wise. I had laboured the composition in question, as is my wont, up to the very latest possible moment, unwilling that a single grace should be lost by any remission of that incessant labour I bestow on this portion of my works. Of course, I was too late for the "all-swallowing orifice of the common post," as Charles Lamb denominates the letter-box. But I was in ample season, with five minutes to spare, for the *locus penitentiæ*, a last moment of grace, which our Uncle Samuel allows for the benefit of those of his children who magnify the prime virtue of Procrastination. This careful relative of ours, you must know, provides a letter box at the Station into which letters may be dropped when the mail-train is in the very article of departure, and which I have, on all other occasions, found faithful to its trust. But on this I grieve to say, some malign influence presided over its contents, for that precious deposit hath never yet reached its destination. It is perfectly inexplicable. Sometimes I think that the Cabinet at Washington, alarmed at the effect my letters are having on the public mind, procured it to be purloined, as a sort of *coup detat* for the better preservation of the Union. Or it may have been conveyed away by some Collector of Autographs whose enthusiasm was too much for his honesty. Or it may have been translated to the firmament and made a Constellation, like Berenice's Hair or Belinda's ravished Lock. Perhaps, Orion or Perseus are at this moment engaged in perusing it. However it happened, lost it was, and this was the cause of the first *hiatus* in my communications, which your readers have had so heavily to deplore.

The second occurred thus. I felt it to be a duty I owed to your readers that I should pay at least one visit to the Crystal Palace in your City. I proposed to myself the pleasure of writing a communication for their advantage on the first evening of my arrival. As I was due there, by the Overland Route, at Four o'clock, I conceived that I should have abundant time for such a profusion. But the new York and New Haven Company, in their caution to keep the passengers from dying by Accident, are in great danger of having them die of Old Age before they reach their journey's end. To be sure, it is the preferable death of the two, and that which most men agree, with the French King's Fool, in choosing when they have a chance. But the effect of this extreme care (or, to speak more correctly, of their not allowing Motive Power enough for their load—only one engine for *sixteen* carriages!) I reached New York at too late an hour, and in too weary a condition, to fulfil my good intentions towards your gentle readers, and still more gentler subscribers. I spent three days in New York, and saw the Palace as thoroughly as one well could do in so short time. I shall not attempt to give any account of my experiences, but advise all who can to go and do likewise. I will only say that I am not of the number who regard it as a Failure and a Humbug. The moving scene, especially by gas-light, is a remunerative sight, in itself. And the Gobelins Tapestry, the Sevres Porcelain, the English and French silver-plate, were worth a reasonable journey to see—not to mention the Amazon and many of the Statues. I trust I shall have an opportunity of paying it yet another visit, before it is closed.

We are in a fine state of political combustion and ebullition, just now. The elements are well stirred up, and there is a promise of as pretty a storm as ever tossed about the barks at sea for the amusement of a Lucretian observer from the shore. We have very nice divisions and subdivisions of parties, such as may well delight those Natural Philosophers who love the observations of Microscopical Politics. The Whigs, as the Minority, are tolerably united. But among the Democrats there are the Hunkers and the Hunkers of the Hunkers—*Hunkeris ipsis Hunkeriores*—who will not even unite with such Hunkers as Hallett and the *Post*, in doing anything that Free Soilers would like. They set their weather-cocks every morning by the telegraphic account of how that on the White House at Washington stands. Then there are the Hunkers who are willing to unite with the Free Soilers as to the New Constitution, but not for the possession of the Offices. But a large proportion of the Democrats have united with the Free Soilers in the nomination of Coalition tickets for the Senate, so as to secure the division of the State plunder between them. Many persons, particularly Coalitionists of all shades, think that this good work will go forward and that General Wilson, the Free Soil Candidate, will be Governor. I myself was so far of this opinion, originally, as to have risked a pair of gloves on the event. Not that I *bet* them (I never bet), but I agreed to make a friend (perhaps it would not be violating the sanctities of private life to say, a lady) a present of a pair of gloves in case the General were defeated, on condition of receiving a similar benefaction should he be elected.

Perhaps the anxiety such a risk naturally excites may make me a little nervous; for I must say I do not feel as sanguine as I did of success in this financial operation. That letter of Caleb Cushing, which has shot like a comet into our political firmament, may bring disastrous change on the relations of the other bodies (heavenly or otherwise) there. The Coalition Democrats are said to be bluff and to say (some affirm, to *swear*) that they will not budge at his bidding. But it may have a greater effect than they are willing to allow to it—especially should the decision of the question rest with a handful of men in the Legislature. The party screws might be brought to bear on half-a-dozen men with tremendous power. But I hope they will show fight, if it is only for the credit of the State for spirit. Surely, if anything could excite a spark of fire from a political flint, it would be such an insult to a party professing to believe in State Rights, as that most transcendentally impudent performance. But then the Free Soilers themselves are not united on the main quarrel of the year—the new draught of the Constitution. Mr. Palfrey has come out against it in a pamphlet, "by a Free Soiler from the Start." Mr. Charles F. Adams, Mr. Hoar, of South Carolina memory, and Governor Morton have also taken the stump against it. The Free Soilers have set their lives upon this cast, and it is very likely that a Defeat on this question by the people would be a heavy blow, and great discouragement to them. I wish they could have made it such a document that a defeat would have been glory to them.

The changes in the Constitution are chiefly in relation to the basis of Representation and the Judiciary. The Free Soilers and Democrats, who put the present draught through the Convention, have sought to diminish the power of Boston and the great towns by so arranging the Representation as to increase the relative number of the representatives of the small towns. This, the Whigs, supported by the Free Soil gentlemen just mentioned, think unfair and more objectionable than the evil sought to be remedied. The Judiciary is remodelled so as to make the Judges hold office for Ten Years, to be appointed by the Governor, and to be re-appointed at his pleasure. You know well enough the arguments on both sides of this question. It is merely an intermediate stage between the present Good-behaviour system and that of popular election, which, whether good or bad, will be sure to come sooner or later. Of course, these are subjects on which men may honestly differ in opinion. They are mere questions of expediency. The basis of representation, indeed, is one of warring expediencies—not of principle—for neither the new nor the old were on any perfectly fair plan. We must finally come to the District System, and give up our long cherished custom of Town Representation. This defection, as they esteem it, of Mr. Palfrey in particular, is not well-pleasing to the Free Soilers, which, perhaps, it was hardly reasonable to expect it would be. But I have been accustomed to consider him "indifferent honest," as Hamlet accounted himself, and I am not much inclined to alter my opinion just yet. Though I do think he would have done better to have put his name to his pamphlet at first, so as to have spared his political friends the mortification of denying that it was his. Of course, he could not have expected, or intended, to have remained permanently *incognito*.—D. Y.

SUMMARY.

A new wheel barrow has been invented. Do not laugh, for it is a good invention. It is very wonderful it has not been thought of before. The wheel is placed under the centre, so that none of the weight of the load rests upon the hands. A man can wheel twice the usual weight.—*Tribune.*

—An Ohio Decision.—It is said that Judge Spooner, in the case of Watson, who was kidnapped in our city, but rescued, decided that the kidnappers should not be punished, because they had a right to presume that a black man was a slave until proved to be free.

It is certainly a great thing to be a judge—for then any absurdity, however glaring, any childish conceit that a school boy would spurn, any wretched device that even a pettifogger would loathe, puts on at once the sublimity of a *judicial decision*, and becomes a precedent for all time.—*Christian Press.*

—Horrid Murder by Slaves.—Two young negro slaves killed their master, Wylie Kearney, of Cald-well county, Kentucky, a few days since. He was a hard master, and was about to punish one of them, when the other came up and threw a rope over his head, and then both pulled on the ends of the rope until he was choked to death.

—A Substitute for a Bell.—The first bell in Haverhill, Massachusetts, says the Salem *Gazette*, was purchased in 1784; before that time there was a singular substitute, as appears by a vote passed in 1680: "That Abraham Tyler blow his horn half an hour before meeting, on the Lord's day and on lecture days, and receive one pound of pork annually for his services from each family."

—A Candid Witness.—In the examination of an Irish case yesterday, before the Court of Magistrates, for assault and battery, the counsel, in cross examining one of the witnesses, asked him what they had at the first place they stopped? He answered, "4 glasses of ale." What next? "2 glasses of wine." What next? "1 glass of brandy." What next? "A fight, of course."—*Providence Journal.*

—Demand upon Henry Ward Beecher.—The demand upon this distinguished orator to deliver lyceum lectures, the coming season, is immense. A New Bedford gentleman, who applied to Mr. Beecher to lecture in that city, received a reply that the reverend speaker had over *seven hundred* similar invitations which he must first answer, before entertaining others.

—The Oldest Inhabitant.—Mrs. Boston, a coloured woman, residing in Southac street, is 109 years old. She was born a slave in Reading, in this State, and became free when Slavery was abolished in Massachusetts. Relatives of her former owner are still living in Reading, and the age of this old lady is a matter of record. She attends public worship on the Sabbath in good weather, and has her hearing and other faculties nearly perfect.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

—The Crystal Palace.—It is now understood to be the intention of the Crystal Palace Association, to keep the building open for an indefinite period, as a place for the exhibition of the products of industry and art. Since the 1st of September, the receipts are said to have averaged more than $4,000 per day, while the current expenses have been but $600. Arrangements are making to warm the building, which we doubt not will be successful. The pleasure which our citizens and others have derived from visiting the exhibition will thus be prolonged, and as the winter is with many a season of leisure, we presume that it will still continue to be a place of great resort.

—Riding on a Rail.—We learn that proceedings quite uncommon in the District of Columbia, took place just over the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, recently. A man, accused of whipping his wife and other malpractices, was seized by the indignant neighbours and put astride of a fence-rail; and in this position, without even a saddle for his comfort, moved about rather briskly, as a punishment for his misdeed. He was not seriously injured, however, by this operation. Twelve warrants were issued for the arrest of as many separate parties, who thus enforced the milder section of the Lynch code; but the Justice, Z. Walker, for reasons which we did not ascertain, dismissed the several cases. He probably had sufficient cause for his action in the premises.—*Wash. Sentinel.*

—Carpet for the President of the United States.—Messrs. Templeton & Co., Mile End, Glasgow, the patentees of their Axminster fabric, have just completed a gorgeous carpet in this style of manufacture, commissioned for the White House at Washington, the official residence of the President of the United States. This magnificent piece of textile manufacture measures 80 feet long by 40 broad, the portion woven in the loom without seam being 72 feet by 31, and the remainder consisting of a handsome border sewed on. The filling in of the carpet is a ruby and crimson damask, with three tasteful medallions in the centre, and rich corner pieces to correspond. The medallions are filled up with bouquets of flowers, designed and executed with exquisite taste. The entire piece weighs upwards of a ton, and its value is between £450 and £500. This carpet is the largest of five now nearly completed for the Presidential mansion, the whole of which require to be in Washington early in November.

—School of Design for Women.—This excellent institution, calculated to direct the taste and skill of woman in more lucrative pursuits than she has hitherto followed, has just issued its annual report. The school has a grant, it will be recollected, of $1,500 per year from the State, for three years, towards its support. It has at present 78 scholars, who are engaged in various branches of studies. Of those engaged in designing exclusively, there are 44; 11 are learning wood engraving, and we have seen some specimens worthy of the *masters* of the art; 14 are preparing for lithographers or teachers; 3 are drawing on stone, and 7 are designing patterns for manufactures. The delicate character of the employment is well fitted for women, and there seems no reason why the taste that has, alone, been directed to the manufacture of baby caps and lace ruffles, may not be, by this school, turned to an excellent account in matters of more general usefulness to the world, and of profits to the possessors.—*Boston Post.*

—James G. Birney, once the Liberty party candidate for the Presidency, is spending the autumn and winter in Philadelphia. Mr. B owns a respectable property near East Saginaw, Mich. The *Enterprise* of that town says:

"Something of the nature of a paralytic stroke has somewhat impeded the use of his limbs, and renders it difficult for him to articulate distinctly; yet he walks erect with dignity and presents a very healthy and agreeable appearance. The profession of the law, in which he has stood eminent, he now devotes scarcely any attention to; though it is said that many of his neighbours are occasionally indebted to him for very valuable legal advice, for which no charge is made. Though a decided opponent to human Slavery, he is not the fanatic which many unacquainted with him take him to be. Mr. Birney's claims to the Presidency were not considered to be valid, nor do his views appear to meet with general favour; yet he is a very estimable man, or his neighbours are egregiously mistaken."

—The French Indemnity.—*A Hard Case.*—The ship Fox, of this place, sailed from this port in 1796, under the command of Capt. Coffin Whippy, of Nantucket, for the Atlantic

Miscellaneous Department.

From "Fun Jottings," by N. P. Willis.

LORDS AND LADIES.

NEXT to eating, drinking, loving, and money-making, the greatest desire of human beings seems to be to discover the lining of each others brains; and the great difference between authors and other people seems mainly to consist in the faculty of turning out this lining to the view. But in this same lining there are many plaits, wrinkles, and corners, which even authors scarce think it worth their while to expand, but which, if accidentally developed, create an interest, either by their correspondence with other people's wrinkles, or by their intrinsic peculiarity.

Let us see if we can give a sketchy idea of the rise and progress of literary celebrity in London; or, in other words, the climbing into society, and obtaining of notice by men who have a calling to literature. Sterne's method of generalizing, by taking a single instance, is a very good one, and we will touch here and there upon the history of an individual whom we know, and who, after achieving several rounds of the ladder of society, is still, we believe, slowly making his way upward—or downward. Let us call him Snooks, if you please, for we cannot give his real name, and still speak as freely as we wish to do of his difficulties in mounting. Snooks was a Manchester boy of good birth, brought up to business—his position at home about equal to that of a merchant's son in New York. He began writing verses for the country newspapers, and at last succeeded in getting an article into the London *New Monthly*, and with this encouragement came up to town to follow literature for a livelihood. With a moderate stipend from his father, he lived a very quiet life for a couple of years, finding it rather difficult to give away his productions, and quite impossible to sell them. There was no opening at the same time through which he could even make an attempt to get a footing in desirable society. In the third year he became proof-reader to one of the publishers; and being called upon to write anticipatory puffs of works he had examined in manuscript, he came under the notice of the proprietor of one of the weeklies, and by a lucky chance was soon after employed as sub-editor. This was his first available foothold. It was his business, of course, to review new books, and, as a "teller" in the bank of fame, he was a personage of some delegated importance. His first agreeable surprise was the receipt of a parcel in scented paper, containing the virgin effusions of a right honourable lady, who, in a little note, with her compliments to Mr. Snooks (for she had inquired the name of her probable critic through a literary friend), begged a notice of her little book, and a call from Mr. Snooks when he should have committed his criticisms to paper. Snooks was a man of very indifferent personables, his hair of an unmitigated red, and his voice of a very hair-splitting treble; but he had a violent taste for dress, and a born passion for countesses; and he wrote most unexceptionable poetry, that would pass for anybody's in the world, it was so utterly free from any peculiarity. This last quality made him an excellent verse-tinker, and he was the man of all others best suited to solder over the cracks and chasms of right honourable poetry. He wrote a most commendatory criticism of her ladyship's book, quoting some passages, with here and there an emendation of his own, and called at the noble mansion with the *critique* in his pocket. By this bridge of well-born vanity, paying the humiliating toll of insincere praise, he crossed the repelling barrier of aristocratic life, and entered it as the necessary incumbrance in her ladyship's literary fame. Her ladyship was "at home" on Thursday evenings, and Snooks became the invariable first-comer and last goer-away; but his happiness on these Thursday evenings could only be called happiness when it was reconnoitred from the distance of Manchester. He went always in an irreproachable waistcoat, fresh gloves and varnished shoes, but his social performances for the evening consisted in his first bow to her ladyship, and her ladyship's "How d'ye do, Mr. Snooks!" After this exciting conversation, he became immediately interested in some of the *bijoux* upon the table, striding off from that to look at a picture in the corner, or to procure the shelter of a bust upon a pedestal, behind which he could securely observe the people, so remarkably unconscious of his presence. Possibly toward the latter part of the evening, a dandy would level his glass at him and wonder how the devil he amused himself, or some purblind dowager would mistake him for the footman, and ask him for a glass of water: but these were his nearest approaches to an intimacy with the set in which he visited. After a couple of years of intercourse with the nobility on this footing, he becomes acquainted with one or two other noble authors at the same price, frequents their parties in the same way, and, having unequivocal evidence (in notes of invitation) that he visits at the West End, he now finds a downward door open to society in Russell Square. By dint of talking authentically of my lady this, and my lord the other, he obtains a vogue at the East End which he could only get by having come down from a higher sphere, and through this vestibule of aristocratic contempt he descends to the highest society in which he can ever be familiar. Mr. Snooks has written a novel in three volumes, and considers himself fully established as one of the notabilities of London; but a fish out of water is happy in comparison with Snooks when in the society of the friends he talks most about; and if he were to die to-morrow, those very "friends" would with difficulty remember anything but his red head, and the exemplary patience with which he submitted to his own society.

The fact is, that the position of a mere literary man in England, in any circle above that to which he is born, is that of a jackall. He is invited for what he contributes to the entertainment of the aristocratic lions and lionesses who feed him. He has neither power nor privilege in their sphere. He dare not introduce a friend, except as another jackall, and it would be for very extraordinary reasons that he would ever name at the tables where he is most intimate, his father or mother, wife, sister or brother. The footman, who sometimes comes to him with a note or book, knows the difference between him and the other guests of his master, and, by an unpunishable difference of manner, makes the distinction in his service. The *abandon* which they feel in his presence, *he* never feels in *theirs*; and we doubt whether Thomas Moore himself, the pet of the English aristocracy for forty years, ever forgot, in their company, that he was in the presence of his superiors, and an object of condescension.

Now, we have many people in this country, Americans born, who are monarchists, and who make no scruple in private conversation of wishing for a defined aristocracy, and other infrangible distinctions between the different classes of society. In the picture they draw, however, they themselves figure as the aristocrats; and we must take the liberty, for the moment, of putting them "below the salt," and setting forth a few of their annoyances. Take the best-received Americans in London—yourself, for example, Mr. Reader! You have no fixed rank, and, therefore, you have nothing to keep you down, and can rise to any position in the gift of your noble entertainer. As a foreigner, your circulate freely (as many well-introduced Americans do) through all the porcelain *penetralia* of the West End. You are invited to dine, we will say, with his grace, the Duke of Devonshire. There are ten or twelve guests, all noble except yourself; and when you look round upon the five other gentleman, it is possible that, without vanity you may come to the conclusion, that, in dress, address, spirit, and natural gifts, you are at least the equal of those around you. Dinner is late in being announced, and, meantime, as you know all the ladies, and are particularly acquainted with the youngest and prettiest, you sit down by the latter, and promise yourself the pleasure of giving her an arm when the doors are thrown open, and sitting by her at dinner. The butler makes his appearance at last, and the lady willingly takes your arm—when in steps my Lord Flummery, who is a terrible "spoon," but undoubtedly "my lord" takes the lady from you, and makes his way to the dinner-table. Your first thought is to follow and secure a place on the other side of her, but still another couple or two are to take precedence, and you are left at last to walk in alone, and take the seat that is left—perhaps between two men who have a lady on the other side. Pleasant—isn't it?

Again. You are strolling in Regent street or the Park with an Englishman, whose acquaintance you made on your travels. He is a man of fortune, and as independent in his character as any man in England. On the continent he struck you as particularly high-minded and free from prejudice. You are chatting with him very intimately, when a young nobleman, not remarkable for anything but his nobility, slips his arm into your friend's, and joins the promenade. From that moment your friend gives you about as much of his attention as he does to his walking-stick, lets your questions go unanswered, let them be never so clever, and enjoys with the highest zest the most remote spoonyosities of my lord. You, perhaps, as a stranger, visit in my lord's circle of society, and your friend does not; but he would as soon think of picking my lord's pocket as of introducing you to him, and, if you begin to think you are *Monsieur de Trop*, and say "good morning," your friend, who never parted from you before without making an engagement to see you again, gives you a nod without turning his head from his lordship, and very dryly echoes your "good morning." And this, we repeat, the most independent man in England will do, for he is brought up to fear God and honour a lord, and it is bred in his bone and brain.

We could give a thousand similar instances, but the reader can easily imagine them. The life of a commoner in England is one of inevitable and daily eclipse and mortification—nothing but the force of early habits and education making it tolerable to the Englishman himself, and nothing at all making it any way endurable to a republican of any pride or spirit. You naturally say, "Why not associate with the middle classes, and let the aristocracy go to the devil?" but *individually* sending people to the devil is no use, and the middle classes value yourself and each other only as your introduction to them is aristocratic, or as their friends are approvable by an aristocratic eye. There is no class free from this humiliating weakness. The notice of a lord will at any time take the wind out of your sails when a lady is in the case: your tailor will leave you half-measured to run to my lord's cab in the street: your doctor will neglect your fever for my lord's cold: your friend will breakfast with my lord, though engaged particularly to you; and the out-goings and in-comings, the sayings and doings, the stupidities, impudences, manners, greetings, and condescensions of lords and ladies, usurp the conversation in all places, and to the interruption or exclusion of the most grave or personal topics.

Understand us, we grudge no respect to dignities or authorities. Even to wealth as power, we are willing to yield the wall. But we say again, that *a republican spirit must rebel against homage to anything human with which it never can compete*, and in this lies the only distinction (we fervently hope) which, will ever hedge in an American aristocracy. Let who will get to windward of us by superior sailing—the richer, the handsomer, the cleverer, the stronger, the more beloved and gifted—there was fair play at the start, and we will pay deference and duty with the promptest. But no lords and ladies, Mr. President, if you love us.

M. FRANCOIS ARAGO.

THIS great astronomer and noble-minded patriot died at Paris on Sunday in his sixty-eighth year, after a career which was glorious both in science, and in politics.

When a young man, Arago received an order to proceed with M. Biot to Spain, there to measure an arc of the meridian. While at Galazo, in Majorca, war broke out between France and Spain; and under pretence that the fires which he made to aid his scientific measurements were intended to enlighten the march of the French troops, an attempt was made by the populace to seize Arago. He escaped to the coast in disguise, but was refused succour by the captain of the Mystique, to whose ship he had fled, and who had hitherto obeyed his least orders. In this extremity he turned for safety to the prison, to place himself under the protection of the authorities, and had to run through a furious crowd, one of whom stabbed him by the way. By the connivance of the Spanish captain-general, Arago, assisted by a faithful follower, escaped from prison after a brief confinement, and reached the boat which was waiting for him at the shore. In this he passed through the English squadron, and entered the port of Algiers, where he procured a vessel better fitted for the voyage to France. Embarked afresh, he arrived within view of Marseilles, but there the ship was attacked by a Spanish corsair, and Arago was taken prisoner to Rosas. Here all the preparations for a military execution were made before his eyes, with a view to frighten Arago, who was unknown, into the confession that he was an emigrant Spaniard, and so gain a pretence for confiscating the coveted vessel. In the end he was placed in the cellar of a prison, where he lived without light, overrun with vermin, and was often left for two days together without food. It happened that the Algerine vessel by which Arago had sailed had carried two lions, intended by the dey as a present to the Emperor. One of these died on the passage, and Arago contrived to send a letter to the dey, informing him that his lion had been starved to death by the Spaniards: which was, perhaps, a good guess at the truth. The dey, enraged at the loss of the beast, addressed an angry letter to the Spanish Government, demanded recompense for the arbitrary seizure of the vessel, and threatened war if it were not immediately restored. A permission to set sail for Marseilles soon after reached Arago, just as he thought his affairs were at the worst: but the incompetent pilot conducted the ship at a venture upon the Mediterranean for several days, and at last made a landing at Bougie. As the ship was no longer sea-worthy, Arago resolved to proceed to Algiers by land, disguised as an Arab, and conducted by a Marabout: a feat which long lacked credence among the French officers. The dey had just died; a revolution, of which Arago was a witness, immediately destroyed his successor: the new ruler demanded of the French Government payment of a pretended debt: and as a categoric refusal arrived from Paris, Arago, with every Frenchman in Algiers, was inscribed on the list of slaves, expecting every day to be conducted to the galleys. At length, in 1809, after enduring many hardships, Arago obtained permission to leave Africa with a convoy of Algerian vessels and a corsair of the same nation: but just as they were in sight of Algiers, the convoy was stopped by two English frigates, and brought to Lord Collingwood. The corsair in which Arago sailed managed to escape, and after being chased once or twice, safely landed him in France.

His determination of the diameters of the planets, afterwards adopted by Laplace, the discovery of coloured polarisation, and that of magnitude by rotation, which gained him the Copley medal of the Royal Society, are only specimens of the brilliant acts which have built up his world-wide reputation. His contributions to scientific literature were voluminous. As a politician, often occupying a conspicuous position, Arago was earnest, simple-minded, and consistent. When a youth he avowed his republican principle by refusing to subscribe to the constitution of the empire, and when grey-headed he choose to renounce his hardly earned position at the Observatory rather than take the new oath to Louis Bonaparte after the events of December, 1852. To the credit of the Government it consented to forego the exaction. During the brief administration of the Provisional Government in 1848, Arago enjoyed an opportunity of assisting to apply the principles for which he had contended during a life. As Minister of Marine he succeeded in obtaining the adhesion of the whole of that important service to the republic. At his death, M. Arago was Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Science, a member of the Bureau de Longitude, and a grand officer of the Legion of Honour.

Perhaps there are none by whom his death will be felt more deeply than by Lord Brougham, who to the last was the great astronomer's bosom friend.

The funeral on Wednesday passed off very quietly. Though it rained incessantly, at least 10,000 persons followed the procession to the cemetry of Pere la Chaise. The only political display of any kind was at the column of the Bastile, where the victims of the revolution are buried. Several hundred workmen, who were arm-in-arm, pulled off their hats as they passed the column. There was a display of the armed police force, and a large body of police in plain clothes mingled with the crowd. The Emperor sent one of his carriages and Marshal Vaillant to represent him; and the Minister of Marine was there to represent the Minister of Public Instruction who is absent. General Cavaignac, and the veteran poet Beranger, were present. In the *cortege* were to be seen generals, admirals, officers of all grades of the army and navy, a great number of foreigners, and all the scientific and literary celebrities of Paris. There were six pall-bearers—Admiral Baudin as president of the Board of longitude; M. Goudchaux; an operative engineer named Boissel; M. Poligna, a son of Charles X.'s minister, a pupil of the Polytechnic School, and a staunch republican; M. Flourens, of the Academy of Sciences; and a sixth individual whose name is not mentioned. Among the political friends of the deceased were MM. Bastide, Guinard, Jules Favre, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Jules Simon Lefranc, Bertholon, Cabon, Peaugo, Charles Lesseps, Vaulabelle, Marchais, and Pierre Dupont. Among the foreigners of distinction were M. Manin, the ex-President of the Republic of Venice, M. Montanelli of Florence, and M. Cernuschi, a member of the Roman Constituent Assembly, and one of the leaders of the barricades in Rome. The procession took more than an hour to reach the church. No one was allowed to enter without a ticket, and these were only issued to the Arago family, official personages, and a comparatively few number of friends. When the hearse reached the Pantheon there was a very large following, but in the Rue St. Victor a neatly-executed movement of the military cut off at least three fourths. This operation was repeated two or three times, and by the time the procession reached the Bastile, the number of followers was diminished by these means, and by the dreadful weather. Over the tomb M. Flourens pronounced an address in honour of the deceased.—*London Inquirer.*

A BLACK PHILOSOPHER.

"My name? Coster. Age? Fifty-four. When I am twelve, sold by uncle, long wid my brother, to white man, and put in ship's hold. Know what white man going to do with me? Expected he was going to eat me. Dey gave us no food first three days of the voyage; we wonder if white man going to eat us, he no keep us fat. Fourth day offered corn to eat; no eat it one of us, saying, 'we no fatten to make nice dish for white man.' Juck! juck! No think what 'come of us if they eat us. Think we be no more. We say, 'course, if they eat us, we be in white man's belly!' Juck! Juck!

"Where we think we go to when we die? To the ground, and then all over! Am a Christian now, and know other than that. Well, it was comfable to think it all over! Uncle no sell me, if he think him roast—juck! juck! What him sell me for? Every one sell him he can. Think I would have sold my uncle—O, damn! juck! juck! Me cuss! Well, dat's bad. I'm always forgetting his Maker!

"Had we a god on the Gold Coast? Well, not a *god* 'zactly. We 'spects something stronger than ourselves, but don't know for certain. Neber thought much of him. When him weather long dry and hot, hot, make a kind of prayers to him for rain. Answer us? No; never answer us, that we know: but spects that the way with him. Been a Christian twenty years, and prayed thousand times—neber he'erd me once! juck! Parson says he hears me his own way. Like him hear me my way sometimes.

How long a slave? Nine year in Jamaica; dey make a flunkey ob me, and I hab fine livery. At last, master come to B——, in England. Calculates I—I'll bolt. Came to N——; saw—not saw but heerd—50*l* for Coster. So calculates I—fact I became a militiaman—juck! juck! Guess he no catch me den. Catch me—militiaman? No; king's servant—servant to de country. Catch Coster—juck! Him go home to Jamaica, minus Coster—juck!

"My brother? never heerd o'm to this day. Isn't it awful? Often think what my uncle sell me for; but all white man's fault; no white man buy no black man sell.

"Better in N—— than on Gold Coast? Well, not sure; parson says nothing can compare with de blessed light. Now, parson say, too, him's judged by his priviledges: now, priviledges no a damn on de Gold Coast—juck! juck! What him be judged by? Isn't it awful? Here hab ebery priviledge, and no use: and he judge by what he ob no use! Isn't it awful? I lib alone, and often think of this; I say to myself, 'Coster, make use ob de priviledges.' Den sit down and smoke all alone, and say to myself, 'Coster, you hab a black skin, and a black eye, and black hair; you hab a black heart too'—see it in the blessed light. Den I smoke, forget it all, and sleep: and rise, and get a job, and its old Coster wid de black heart right on. Isn't it awful?

"When I hear of Saviour! In the militia; here I swear in by him. Often swore by God in Jamaica—wonder what God mean. Master swear by God—'God damn!' I think it be English language. No hab idea of Maker in it, till in the militia. Was baptized in de militia. I now no serve my Maker half—not half! Isn't it awful? Trying always, too, when I think of it. *Guess we'll all come to de scratch some day—no shirking it. Dere will be Massa Brown from Jamica—dere my uncle—dere my brother—dere the parson—dere me—dere you. Isn't it awful?* ALL AT DE SCRATCH, PUNCTUAL BY DE GREAT CLOCK! juck! juck! 'Speck it won't do to say, 'PLEASE, SIR, I OVERSLEPT MYSELF!!' Isn't it awful?

"What I think of de white man? Well, lard's to say. Maker show partiality to white man. Often say to myself, 'Coster, what for de Maker td de joyful tidings to de white man, and not a word to de black? Why de loud voice in Europe, and not a whisper on de Gold Coast? Often think that no fair. Parson—I ask de parson—parson say, 'is is de inscrutable way,' says, am de vain, presumpible nigger, with de black heart; and say, 'wha for him pry where dere be no light?'

"But what I think ot de white man? Like him—look nicer than de nigger—but him hab de worse nature. Know dere be in N—— uncles wuld sell dere friends—anything for money. Isn't it awful? Dey lie, dey steal, dey cheat, dey sing, dy prench, dey pray, dey make de slave, dey go in his passion, dey lie in de name of dere Maker, dy screw the poor, and kill him rich; dey break e houses open, dey make de wars—all for de mone.' Den"—Here Coster had to leave on an errand, and the conversation dropped."

* The foregoing is a report of an actual conversation held with a Negro, and the correspondent to whom we are indebted for it guarantees it as a faithful report.—*Ed. London Leader.*

MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

THE New York *Herald* of Sunday, Oct. 30, 1853, contains the account of a two hours' conversation between a reporter of that paper, and Judge Edmonds, the author of a work upon Spiritualism recently issued. We were much entertained by he whole article; but one paragraph was particularly interesting to us, as giving us important information, such as every man ought, in such circumstances to possess. It is as follows:

"*Q.* Do any of the clergy believe in it?

"*A.* Yes, many of them; but they are afraid to speak out, on account of their congregations. They are beginning, however, to preach it from their pulpits. I had a letter a day or two ago from a clergyman who delivered a sermon to his congregation on the subject. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, hearing of my views on spiritualism, was desirous of seeing me. We met at the house of a mutual friend in Brooklyn, and the result was that Mr. Beecher preached a course of four sermons on spiritualism, covertly, and as his congregation would bear; but ere long he will come out plainly. He believes now that he is preaching by inspiration."

One fact only, in this paragraph, do we know to be true, and that is, a very pleasant evening, spent at the house of a common friend, with Judge Edmonds. We listened to his conversation and to several documents read by him, with respect and interest. We should always esteem it a pleasure to pass so agreeable an evening with a man so agreeable.

But, until this paragraph met our eye, we had no idea of the work wrought in us. The course of "four sermons on Spiritualism" were so "covertly" preached as to have eluded our attention at the time, as they dodge our memory now. And whenever we are convinced of the truth of modern spiritual manifestations, and think it our duty to preach four sermons on the subject, we shall do it with that same sort of *covertness* with which a mortar sends a bomshell into a neighbouring fort. We have heard of a man who said that he "*accidentally* cleared up forty acres of woodland." We think it would be a tougher accident than that for us to preach four sermons on Spiritualism so covertly as not to know it ourselves.

Our numerous personal friends must not be angry if we indulge in a little mirth on the subject. It will be much better than denunciation. There is so much of sorrow and trouble in life, that one ought to be willing to have a smile born, even if it be at his own expense. Besides we promise to be very good-natured ourselves, and as fair as could be expected of a man who is continually stumbling upon news so wonderful; now of the birth of five children to him in one year; now of the gift of thousands of dollars; and who, finally, finds out from the papers that he has been for months converted to spiritualism, and a stealthy apostle of it too, while all that time he had supposed himself to be an utter unbeliever, not perhaps in the facts, but in the theory by which those facts are explained.

We have certainly enjoyed much at the hands of this new Dispensation. We have watched the progress of friends toward the mystery; we have been amused at the various phenomena which *they* exhibited, full as much as at the facts of Spiritualism. Then too we have been soberly regaled by the history of very marvellous conversions besides our own. One man, for example, on one occasion, dared the spirits to convince him; and challenged them to put him upon yonder table. With that, he received a blow across the ankles, none the less painful for being by unseen hands, and he was forthwith, incontinently lifted, conveyed, and spread upon the table. A little mortified, he says, "Let the spirits get me off the table now," and he clutched it with his hands, and curled his toes upon its edges. It was a vain precaution. The table quietly stooped over to one side, till he was near the floor, when it recovered itself with a sudden jerk, and left him sprawling (the spirit that did that, must have been so ne old wrestler.) But the worst was to come. For now, the spirits descended upon him with poundings and blows, and beat him until he was glad to believe, and roar out his conviction.

These facts are recounted to us as unquestionable. We shall not question them. We only say that such violence done to liberty of opinion would never do *here*, in this mortal republican state of being. Probably the agents who reasoned the matter so clearly with there fists, were the spirits of old Inquisitors. But if this process of proselyting is to go on, we wish it were allowed us to provide subjects for conversion. For we know of some few men in public life who seem to us to have suffered for the want of some parental faithfulness of this kind: and it would be a great benefit to them to have it administered even now. But this is a digression.

However, may not this whole conversation be a gentle hoax? Or is it fair to attribute to Judge Edmonds any statements or sentiments given by this reporter of the *Herald*. That paper has not been regarded as having gifts which fitted it to judge and discriminate in gracious matters. Besides, news collectors reverse the old allegation, that having ears they hear not, and eyes, they see not. For having eager eyes they often see what does not exist, and having greedy ears, they hear what was never spoken. May not this have been the case with our reporter? for, although the article assumes the air of candour ripening into conviction, there are suspicious spots in it, that lead us to fear that the writer would easily fall from grace.

But there are some extrinsic reasons which lead us to suppose that this may have been spoken, and that it is believed by not a few. We have received many execrably written letters informing us that it had been revealed to divers and sundry that we were *to be* converted. We have been informed by various mediums, that we were to be developed as mediums; and that great events were about to transpire. We have been informed again and again that we preached by the aid of spirits (some have even said ardent spirits); and one sincere believer assures us that she sees a multitude of spirits hovering about our head, bright and benignant; while certain suspicious and dusky spirits stand anxiously in the background, longing to get at us, but cannot.

We are incredulous of the fact itself. But if it *is* true, we have no doubt that these unhappy dusky fellows that hover in the distance, and are unable to get any dominion over an honest man, are the spirits of departed cotton divines and lower law statesmen. We never kept company with such in the flesh, and we do not wonder that they are not allowed to meddle with us in the spirit. Poor fellows! you had a terrible time of it with your consciences in this world, and we are sorry to think that you get along no better in the spirit-world!

But if we may exchange the sportive vein for seriousness, we must be permitted to say:

1. That those who, in any measure, have in charge the instruction of the public mind, will be obliged to meet this question. It is easy to rail at the superstition, but that does not cure it. It is easy to pronounce the men engaged in it charlatans and impostors, and their disciples dupes. The number of men of some distinction—blameless in life and morals, and with a reputation for intelligence, is so great; and especially the number of civilians, supposed to be adepts at sifting evidence and, by the quicksilver of sagacity, eliminating the truth from ore and dirt, who have embraced substantially the views propounded in Judge Edmonds' book—is such that it is not probable that the matter will soon fall to the ground.

There are thousands of honest men who believe more or less in Spiritualism. The number of those who are inquisitive and who are prying into it, is still increasing. It is not among the ignorant peculiarly, that the curiosity spreads. So far as we have seen, on the contrary, the most intelligent circles have been the most affected.

Neither can it be denied that there is some sort of basis for this curiosity in *physical facts*. There are phenomena which are unusual hitherto, which can be accounted for by no theory, or natural law *at present* known or developed. To deny the facts, to refuse any evidence of their existence, and yet to assume to judge of the matter for others, is a course which will inevitably produce increased mischief. If this was a thing that would die away by neglect, neglect would be the best remedy. But as it is, we think neglect will no more meet the exigency than neglect will cleanse a growing crop of weeds. The only question is, *How shall this investigation be carried on? who are the men fitted to prosecute this branch of knowledge?*

It is our strong impression—it is more, it is our conviction, so far as belief can be entertained in respect to things not yet ascertained—that when this subject shall have been thoroughly explored, and we come out the other side, that it will be found simply, and only, that a new range of natural science has been opened—not a whit more of heaven, only a little more of earth.

It is a long line that these men are pulling in, and from a deep sea; and though we believe that they are far from having on their hook the fish which *they* think they have, we have no doubt whatever that they have got *something*. They think the spheres have intersected the orbit of this world and let in new light; we believe that men are finding out physical laws that have always existed and been variously active, but which have never been investigated.

Now, both for the discovery of what is true and for the prevention of great mischief by the adoption of false theories, we think the matter should undergo scientific investigation.

2. We think the investigation should be *scientific* not *popular*. Research is always of the few, belief of the many.

It is an impertinence toward truth, for scientific men to sit in tribunal, and summon these phenomena before them, as a country justice drags up vagrants and gipsies, and demands with surly tones that they give account of themselves. Nature is very modest and very silent, but firm as a rock against all attempts at browbeating or burglary. Science itself has no instruments by which to extort any confessions from Nature. None can put her upon the rack, or force a bolt of that castle where she strows every hall with golden dust of knowledge. They that learn must be scholars: and scholars must be docile. It because the crowd has run first, scientific men refuse to go after them, or disdainfully interrogate Nature, they will be found, by and by, at the feast of knowledge, not having on a wedding garment, and be ejected summarily into outer darkness.

Men trained to cautious investigation and deduction must think it worth their while to go to woo Nature, and win from her this secret.

Contrary to the impression of most, it is extremely rare that one can be found fitted to form a correct judgment of facts and principles with which he has not an educational familiarity. It is not a very simple, or a very easy, affair to witness the phenomena of spiritual manifestations, and form correct judgments of them.

When a young enthusiast of science ran hastily to Cuvier, with information that he had discovered a new muscle in the frame, the cautious sage replied only, "Come to me again, after ten years." It is usually supposed to require a rare endowment to make discriminating and accurate remarks upon metaphysical truths. But it requires a far rarer and more acute mind to make an accurate observation of physical phenomena. A man that can describe a new plant, exactly what it is, root, stem, leaf, flower, fruit, shape, colour, and relative position of part with part, saying neither more nor less than the exact truth of facts, is a man of rare and extraordinary powers. The fullness of Nature; the delicacy of her transitions from part to part; the subtlety with which she weaves the most tenuous and delicate figures upon the most rigid and obvious grounds; the habits which she inspires in her least products; the marvelous similarities which bring all creation into unity, without at all impairing those distinctive gifts which give individuality and speciality to each of the half million plants on the globe; all this makes the task of sharp-seeing and clearly-cut description one of the hardest and noblest. But it you add to this the process of growth, the subtle elements of cause and effect, the process becomes yet more difficult. No one is so profoundly conscious of this as is the artist who studies Nature, to take her wondrous portrait; or the scientific men, who dissect and annalyze the substances, and classify the facts of the natural world.

It is not to be expected that the phenomena which are obscurely intimated to us from the regions of psychology, should differ from all other natural phenomena, in being transparent to careless observation. We certainly cannot hope to sound the depths of those laws which relate to the human mind, by loose and hasty research, a half hour here, and an hour there; under the excitement of novelty; dazzled by the vividness of our own emotions, often; and beguiled by the wild lights of an auroral imagination.

If the million filaments of truth are to be separately drawn forth, and spun to a compact and continuous thread, to be woven into fabrics of practical use, it is not to be done by the hand of bunglers through credulity; nor by bunglers from impertinent skepticism.

3. It is on the very account that we urge truly scientific minds to investigate this range of phenomena, that we should warn off others from the ground. The very persons that ought to study them, neglect; and the very persons that ought to let them alone, are the most nettled by curiosity.

One can scarcely conceive how worse circumstances could conspire to defeat impartial investigation, both from the habits and character of those who make them, and from the peculiar mental state in which they approach the phenomena. Women of emotive natures, and sagacious chiefly through the instincts of feeling; men easily excited by the marvellous, and ready to stand in awe of the beckoning of any shadow; sanguine and credulous persons, never accustomed to think accurately, or to measure their course by any form of independent reflection—girls and boys of all ages—these are those *usually* employed in such inve-tigations. We do not mean that such persons are not respectable; but when investigations of recondite facts are to be made, a man must have more than good sense and honesty, and common sense. He must have those and a peculiar *training* besides. Good sense makes no man a carpenter, a founder, a machinist, a metallurgist. He must specially learn each art if he would practice them. If a man should attempt to argue a case of simple law before Judge Edmonds, on the ground of general good sense, he would speedily set him down. Nay, capacity to judge one sort of evidence, does not fit a man to judge every kind. A skilful mathematician is often a poor moral reasoner. A judge may be most excellent for the sifting of such evidence as comes before a court, and very incompetent to deal with scientific facts and inductions.

But it is too much to be borne with patience, to see half-read, undisciplined, impatient, versatile people rushing headlong into a full belief of communion with spirits not only, but with such a belief of all, or any part of the vagaries communicated to them, that they attempt to conduct worldly affairs by such hallucinations; pry into the future for unrevealed knowledge—nay, abandon the grounds of their Christian faith; reduce their Saviour to the stature of a man; humble the words of inspired prophets and apostles to the level of table-rapping, or the confused scrawl of some mumbling medium. Such haste to throw away the solemn certainties of a former faith, for the undigested novelties of a new and wild and incoherent revelation, by persons who take their own untrained minds as their only guides in investigation, is a sight the most lamentable; and one could not suppress bitter contempt for such rash conduct, were not that feeling met and corrected by Christian piety.

What if our domestic affairs were to be conducted upon the supposition that everybody who had good sense, was fit to be an experimental chemist, and the kitchen and cellar should be lumbered up with retorts, crucibles, vials and bottles, cisterns and bladders, and all manner of chemical agents, who would risk his life eating a dinner of his wife's cooking? Who would stand a chance of unexpected immortality by accepting an invitation to a progressive dinner? A man might progress faster and farther than he cared for. Now, we only say, that to make observations of the subtle nature of mental phenomena, to explore the doubtful lore of magnetism, or electricity, or whatever agent it may be that has some influential relation to the generation of human thought and feeling, requires at least as much nicety of training, and habits of cautious observation and deduction, as is required in the chemistry of a dinner—and a man should not stuff his soul with a cookery which he would utterly abhor for his stomach.

There are other matters pertinent to this general subject, that must be deferred, it written at all, to some future time.—*H. W. Beecher in the Independent.*

FIELDING'S 'AMELIA.'

"As a picture of manners the novel of 'Tom Jones' is indeed exquisite; as a work of construction quite a wonder: the by-play of wisdom: the power of observation: the multiplied felicitous turns and thoughts; the varied character of the great Comic Epic; keep the reader in a perpetual admiration and curiosity. But against Mr. Thomas Jones himself we have a right to put in a protest, and quarrel with the esteem the author evidently has for that character. Charles Lamb says finely of Jones, that a single hearty laugh from him 'clears the air'—but then it is in a certain state of the atmosphere. It might clear the air when such personages as Blifil or Lady Bellaston poison it. But I fear very much that (except until the very last scene of the story) when Mr. Jones enters Sophia's drawing room, the pure air there is rather tainted with the young gentleman's tobacco-pipe and punch. I can't say that I think Mr. Jones a virtuous character; I can't say but that I think Fielding's evident liking and admiration for Mr. Jones, shows that the great humourist's moral sense was blunted by his life, and that here in Art and Ethics, there is a great error. If it is right to have a hero, whom we may admire, let us at least take care that he is admirable: if, as is the plan of some authors (a plan decidedly against their interests, be it said), it is propounded that there exists in life no such being, and therefore that in novels, the picture of life, there should appear no such character; then Mr. Thomas Jones becomes an admissable person, and we examine his defects and good qualities, as we do those of Parson Thwackum, or Miss Seagrim. But a hero with a flawed reputation; a hero sponging for a guinea; a hero who can't pay his landlady, and is obliged to let his honour out to hire, is absurd, and his claim to heroic rank untenable. I protest against Mr. Thomas Jones holding such rank at all. I protest even against his being considered a more than ordinary young fellow, ruddy-cheeked, broad-shouldered, and fond of wine and pleasure. He would not rob a church, but that is all; and a pretty long argument may be debated, as to which of these old types, the spendthrift, the hypocrite, Jones and Blifil, Charles and Joseph Surface—is the worst member of society and the most deserving of censure. The prodigal Captain Booth is a better man than his predecessor Mr. Jones, in so far as he thinks much more humbly of himself than Jones did: goes down on his knees, and owns his weaknesses, and cries out 'Not for my sake, but for the sake of my pure and sweet and beautiful wife Amelia, I pray you, O critical reader, to forgive me.' That stern moralist regards him from the bench (the judge's practice out of court is not here the question), and says, 'Captain Booth, it is perfectly true that your life has been disreputable, and that on many occasions you have shown yourself to be no better than a scamp—you have been tippling at the tavern, when the kindest and sweetest lady in the world has cooked your little supper of boiled mutton and awaited you all the night; you have spoilt the little dish of boiled mutton thereby, and caused pangs and pains to Amelia's tender heart. You have got into debt without the means of paying it. You have gambled the money with which you ought to have paid your rent. You have spent in drink or in worse amusements the sums which your poor wife has raised upon her little home treasures, her own ornaments, and the toys of her children. But, you rascal! you own humbly that you are no better than you should be: you never for one moment pretend that you are anything but a miserable weak-minded rogue. You do in your heart adore that angelic woman, your wife, and for her sake, sirrah, you shall have your discharge. Lucky for you and for others like you, that in spite of your failings and imperfections, pure hearts pity and love you. For your wife's sake you are permitted to go hence without a remand, and I beg you, by the way, to carry to that angelical lady the expression of the cordial respect and admiration of this court.' Amelia pleads for her husband Will Booth: Amelia pleads for her reckless kindly old father, Harry Fielding. To have invented that character, is not only a triumph of art, but it is a good action. They say it was in his own home that Fielding knew her and loved her: and from his own wife that he drew the most charming character in English fiction—Fiction! why fiction! why not history! I know Amelia just as well as Lady Mary Wortly Montagu. I believe in Colonel Bath almost as much as in Colonel Gardiner or the Duke of Cumberland. I admire the author of 'Amelia,' and thank the kind master who introduced me to that sweet and delightful companion and friend. Amelia perhaps is not a better story than 'Tom Jones,' but it has the better ethics; the prodigal repents at least, before forgiveness—whereas that odious broad backed Mr. Jones carries off his beauty with scarce an interval of remorse for his manifold errors and short-comings; and is not half punished enough before the great prize of fortune and love falls to his share. I am angry with Jones. Too much of the plum-cake and rewards of life fall to that boisterous, swaggering young scapegrace. Sophia actually surrenders without a proper sense of decorum; the fond, foolish, palpitating little creature—'Indeed, Mr. Jones,' she says—'it rests with you to appoint the day.' I suppose Sophia is drawn from life as well as Amelia, and many a young fellow, no better than Mr. Thomas Jones, has carried by a *coup de main* the heart of many a kind girl who was a great deal too good for him.

"What a wonderful art! What an admirable gift of nature, was it by which the author of these tales was endowed, and which enabled him to fix our interest, to waken our sympathy, to seize upon our credulity, so that we believe in his people, speculate gravely upon their faults or their excellences, prefer this one or that, deplore Jones's fondness for drink and play, Booth's fondness for play and drink, and the unfortunate position of the wives of both gentlemen—love and admire those ladies with all our hearts, and talk about them as faithfully as we had breakfasted with them this morning in their actual drawing-rooms, or should meet them this afternoon in the Park! What a genius! what a vigour! what a bright eyed intelligence and observation! what a wholesome hatred for meanness and knavery! what a vast sympathy! what a cheerfulness! what a manly relish of life! what a love of human kind! what a poetic here! watching, meditating, brooding, creating! What multitudes of truths has that man left behind him: what generations he has taught to laugh wisely and fairly: what scholars he has formed and accustomed to the exercise of thoughtful humour and the manly play of wit! What a courage he had! What a dauntless and constant cheerfulness of intellect, that burned bright and steady through all the storms of his life, and never deserted its last wreck! It is wonderful to think of the pains and misery which the man suffered: the pressure of want, illness, remorse which he endured: and that the writer was neither malignant nor melancholy, his view of truth never warped and his generous human kindness never surrendered!"—*Thackeray's Lectures.*

CHINA.

* * * THE Chinese are, especially with reference to the past, emphatically a great people. When England was a mixture of swamp and forest, the kingdom of China was covered with towns and cities in a state of complete political and municipal government. When the ancient Britons wore paint, and hudd